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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE
BALTIMORE AREA—Part 1

*20. American National Committee on
the Assassination of Presidents.*

HEARING
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

MAY 18, 1954

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

- * * * * *
- (q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.
(A) Un-American activities.
(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 83D CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1953

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress, the following standing committees :

* * * * *

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American Activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time, investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE BALTIMORE AREA—Part 1

THURSDAY, MARCH 18, 1954

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

PUBLIC HEARING

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to notice, at 10:25 a. m. in the caucus room, 362 Old House Office Building, Hon. Donald L. Jackson presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Donald L. Jackson (acting chairman), Gordon H. Scherer (appearance noted in transcript), Francis E. Walter, Clyde Doyle, and James B. Frazier, Jr.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Raphael I. Nixon, director of research; George Cooper, investigator; and Riley Smith, representative of the clerk.

Mr. JACKSON. The committee will be in order.

In accordance with the established rules of procedure of the House Committee on Un-American Activities requiring that the subject matter to be explored in any hearing be announced by the chairman at the outset of the hearings, the Chair announces at this time that today's hearing represents a continuation of committee hearings into the nature, extent, and objectives of Communist infiltration in the area of Baltimore, Md.

The fact that the witness this morning, the Reverend Hutchison, is a minister should carry no connotation that the committee is investigating religion or any church. There is sworn testimony to the effect that several ministers were used by the Communist Party in Baltimore, and the committee hopes that those who are called in this connection will cooperate fully by giving the committee the benefit of their personal knowledge of the situation as it existed during the period in question.

For the purpose of taking testimony this morning the chairman has established a subcommittee consisting of Messrs. Walter, Doyle, Frazier, and Scherer, with Mr. Jackson as acting chairman.

Mr. Counsel, are you ready to proceed?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir. Will Dr. John A. Hutchison come forward, please?

Mr. JACKSON. Will you raise your right hand, sir? Do you solemnly swear in the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I do.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN A. HUTCHISON, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS
COUNSEL, FRANK S. KETCHAM

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

Dr. HUTCHISON. John A. Hutchison.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel, Mr. Hutchison?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I am, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. KETCHAM. Frank S. Ketcham.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Dr. HUTCHISON. March 2, 1912, Cedar Grove, N. J.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present profession?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I am full professor of religion at Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, briefly what your formal educational training has been?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I graduated with a degree of bachelor of science from Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. in 1932. I attended Princeton Theological Seminary, 1932-33. I graduated with a degree of bachelor of divinity from Union Theological Seminary in New York City in 1935. I received a degree of Ph. D. from Columbia University in 1941. I took courses in the year 1947-48 at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland, and the University of Basel in Switzerland.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your employment has been since the completion of your work at the Union Theological Seminary in New York City in 1935?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I became, early in 1935, either January or February of 1935, the assistant pastor of the Brown Memorial Presbyterian Church in Baltimore. In November of 1937 I became pastor of the Christ Presbyterian Church, Bayonne, N. J. I was assistant in the Philosophy of Religion Department at Union Seminary in 1940-41 and was instructor of religion at the College of Wooster, Wooster, Ohio, from 1941 to 1943: professor of religion at Wooster, 1943 through 1947, and in 1947 was made full professor of religion at Williams.

The first year of my tenure at Williams, I was traveling in Europe. Since then I have been at Williams.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, when you first began your assignment during the year 1935 in Baltimore?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I went there early in the year 1935. It was either January or February, and commuted to Baltimore weekends from that time until May when the seminary term was completed, and then took up residence and full-time work in Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you remain in Baltimore from May of 1935 until November 1937 when you took a church at Bayonne, N. J.?

Dr. HUTCHISON. Yes, I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Doctor Hutchison, as indicated by the chairman of the subcommittee a few moments ago, the Committee on Un-American Activities has conducted extensive investigations in various cities of the United States, including Baltimore, Md., for the purpose of ascertaining the character, extent, and objectives of Communist Party activities in those areas. As pointed out, evidence has been received indicating that the Communist Party in Baltimore was especially interested in promoting the activities of the American League Against

War and Fascism and the Ethiopian League and in promoting certain demonstrations, such as the demonstration which was conducted at the time of the docking of the German battleship *Emden* in 1936.

The committee desires to know the method which the Communist Party used and the extent to which the Communist Party used any particular minister in carrying out its plans with regard to those organizations, and it desires also to know whether or not any particular minister collaborated with functionaries of the Communist Party in the work of those organizations.

Let me ask you, were you a member of the American League Against War and Fascism at any time you were in Baltimore?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I was.

(Representative Gordon H. Scherer entered the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you seek membership in that organization, or was your membership solicited?

Dr. HUTCHISON. Well, it is very difficult to remember the precise facts of things which happened 19 years ago, but to the best of my recollection I sought membership in the [American] League Against War and Fascism, and as for dates, to the best of my recollection it was sometime in late summer or early autumn of 1935.

Mr. TAVENNER. You had no affiliation with the American League Against War and Fascism prior to that time?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I don't think so, sir. It is, again, extremely difficult to remember the precise facts of things which took place as long ago as this and activities, which I may say, were peripheral and not central at the time. But again to the best of my recollection, being as honest and as candid as I possibly can be, it was late summer or early autumn of that year.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you counseled by any particular individual or group about your joining that organization?

Dr. HUTCHISON. Well, this question, of course, was put to me in executive session, and I have searched over the grounds of my memory as well as I can, and to the best of my recollection, no, I was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you reach a position in that organization where you became chairman of any committees or a member of any executive group or council of the organization?

Dr. HUTCHISON. Again, to the best of my recollection, I was a member of the city committee, at least I do distinctly recall going to meetings of a committee that planned the activities of the [American] League Against War and Fascism. I have forgotten what the committee was called or the precise nature of its functions, but I do have a distinct recollection of attending, I should suppose, half a dozen to a dozen meetings of this committee during the 2 years or more that I was in Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the work of this committee of which you were a member and which you attended several dozen times?

Dr. HUTCHISON. Not several dozen times.

Mr. TAVENNER. What did you say?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I would say a dozen at most. I would say half a dozen to a dozen times.

Mr. TAVENNER. I beg your pardon.

Dr. HUTCHISON. I am glad you asked that question because it gives me a chance to tell why I joined the league and what my motives were.

I was concerned at the time with two things essentially, the anti-semitism of the Hitler movement and the menace which Hitlerism presented to the United States of America. I think that concern was not unfounded in the light of subsequent events, and this seemed to me the only organization that was doing something about a situation in which there was large-scale irresponsibility in our country; that is to say, I wanted very much for our country to assume some posture of international responsibility at the time when most of the people, as I recall, were sitting on their hands and letting Hitler take control in Europe and do pretty much what he wanted.

Mr. TAVENNER. Those were the motives, you say, which led you to become active in that organization?

Dr. HUTCHISON. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, will you tell the committee, please, what the functions of this council were of which you were a member?

Dr. HUTCHISON. The functions, as I recall them, were to carry on activities, propaganda, for peace and against Hitlerism, against Nazism wherever it occurred in the world.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, what part did you play in the work of that council?

Dr. HUTCHISON. Again, sir, it is extremely difficult to recall with precision and adequacy things which took place as long ago as this, but recalling as candidly as I can, I made some speeches for them. If you asked me precisely how many, I couldn't begin to tell you. I made a few speeches for them around the city of Baltimore, and I was a member of this city committee, whatever the precise title may have been.

Mr. TAVENNER. What work was done in those city committee meetings?

Dr. HUTCHISON. Well, to plan for meetings, to plan for getting speakers who would represent the late point of view before as many and as varied groups in the city as might be possible.

Incidentally, I do have in this connection a clear recollection that the organization was a pretty complete failure, that it did not succeed in accomplishing many, if any, of its objectives with any considerable group of people.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understood you to say that one of the functions of the council was to plan propaganda to be used by your group.

Dr. HUTCHISON. Yes, quite.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you observe the activities of the Communist Party in an effort to outline or to direct in any manner the propaganda that the council of this group advocated?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I would not be able to say under oath that I recall any evidence whatsoever of deliberate Communist activity here. In a vague sort of way I was aware of the fact that there were Communists in the organization, and, so to say, around the organization, but as I said in the executive hearing, I would not have been able to testify at the time that I knew any single person in the group to be a Communist.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you able to so testify now?

Dr. HUTCHISON. Yes, I am. I read the papers, and since that time various people with whom I had a speaking acquaintance—two, to be precise—have been caught by the Smith Act, and as the New York Times informs me, have been serving time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who are they?

Dr. HUTCHISON. Professor and Mrs. Albert Blumberg.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is Dr. Albert Blumberg, who was a professor—

Dr. HUTCHISON. He was an instructor in philosophy at Johns Hopkins University at the time. I might say I never knew Mr. Blumberg very well. I had a speaking acquaintance with him.

Mr. TAVENNER. For the sake of the record, I do not believe that Professor Blumberg has actually been prosecuted.

Dr. HUTCHISON. I understood from the papers that he had been convicted of violation of the Smith Act.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think his whereabouts are unknown today.

Dr. HUTCHISON. Okay.

Mr. WALTER. He has been indicted, that is the situation.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mention those two. Are there any other persons known now to you to have been members of the Communist Party who were active in the work of the American League Against War and Fascism on the council of which you were a member?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I would not be able to state under oath that I know this person to be a Communist. At the time he seemed to me to be intellectually a Marxist.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, if you do not know, I don't want to ask you to surmise about it.

Dr. HUTCHISON. All right. This would be a surmise.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated that you made a number of speeches around over the city of Baltimore in behalf of the American League Against War and Fascism.

Dr. HUTCHISON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the decision made to have you offer these talks conducted or arranged for at the meetings which we referred to?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I believe in at least 1 or 2 cases that was true. I was asked to speak as a representative of the league in one case to a church young people's group, and again, to the best of my recollection, I spoke about the menace of Hitlerism, particularly in its threat to freedom of religion and to its threat to world peace.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that meeting, to which you referred, advertised as being sponsored by the American League Against War and Fascism?

Dr. HUTCHISON. It was not sponsored by the American League Against War and Fascism. It was a very conventional meeting of a Protestant church young people's group. It was a Presbyterian church somewhere in northwest Baltimore, but I am sorry, I don't just recall which of a dozen or so churches it might have been.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was it within your group of the American League Against War and Fascism who arranged for your handling that occasion?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I have no precise recollection that anybody in the league made these arrangements. It may well have been the minister of the church who wanted to hear what this point of view was. I am sorry; here I simply have no precise recollection.

Mr. TAVENNER. Normally who assigned you the duty of making speeches in behalf of the league?

Dr. HUTCHISON. Nobody assigned me at all. I wasn't assigned.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, you were solicited then?

Dr. HUTCHISON. Yes, quite.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who solicited you to do this work?

Dr. HUTCHISON. It could be anybody connected with the city committee of the American League Against War and Fascism.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was the secretary of the league at that time?

Dr. HUTCHISON. As I recall, Sam Swerdloff was the secretary.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell "Swerdloff"?

Dr. HUTCHISON. Again I am not sure. It is either S-w- or S-v-e-r-d-l-o-f.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe the correct spelling is S-w-e-r-d-l-o-f-f.

Dr. HUTCHISON. All right. I would like to add in this connection what I spoke about at this meeting again. It was a meeting at which there was consideration of what seemed at the time and which I still believe to be issues of great social and international import which are of very fundamental concern to anybody who takes the Christian religion seriously. I spoke from that point of view. I never spoke from any other point of view.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain a member of that organization?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I was a member of it during my entire stay in Baltimore until November 1937.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you resign at that time?

Dr. HUTCHISON. No; I did not. I resigned at sometime during my stay in Bayonne, N. J.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the reason for your withdrawing from the organization?

Dr. HUTCHISON. The reasons were manifold. For one thing, the purge trials in Russia seemed to make it increasingly clear that no honest Christian could have any connection whatsoever with people who were connected in any way with movements of this kind. Also, while I was in Bayonne, N. J., I was interested in the problem of civil liberties in Hudson County, N. J. If you will recall, at the time Mayor Hague had clamped down hard on freedom of speech in Jersey City, and indeed in all Hudson County. I was interested in seeing that free speech might get established or maintained there. It became increasingly apparent to me that people who seemed to me to have some connection with Marxism were not genuinely concerned with the problem of freedom of speech but were using this and related issues to support their partisan purposes. I suppose the really basic reason—

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me interrupt a moment. Did you observe the same thing in your experience in this group in the city of Baltimore?

Dr. HUTCHISON. No; I can't say that I did. It did become apparent to me, certainly by the year 1938, and I would like also to say that in my own thinking about these issues I was increasingly influenced by two of my former teachers, Henry Sloan Coffin and Reinhold Niebuhr, who had been consistently anti-Communist, vigorously anti-Communist, and I must say that my severing my contact with the league—it was then the [American] League for Peace and Democracy—was more than anything else the result of their influence on my thinking in these matters.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were also a student of Dr. Ward, were you not, at the seminary?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I took one course and audited one other course from Harry Ward, but I should like to say quite plainly that I don't think Harry Ward ever had any considerable influence upon me. I had no personal contact with Ward outside of the classroom.

Mr. TAVENNER. He was the president of or the head of the American League Against War and Fascism?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I believe that is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he not?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I believe that is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did that have any influence upon your becoming a member of it?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I suppose that I learned about the [American] League Against War and Fascism from Harry Ward, but that was the extent of my connection with Ward.

Mr. TAVENNER. Very well. I interrupted you in your statement.

Dr. HUTCHISON. I finished what I wanted to say, thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you affiliated at any time while in Baltimore with an organization engaged in promoting public sentiment in favor of Ethiopia and against Italy?

Dr. HUTCHISON. You mean the Ethiopian League?

Mr. TAVENNER. It is sometimes referred to as the Ethiopian League; at other times as the defense group of the—

Mr. JACKSON. Ethiopian Defense Committee, I believe.

Dr. HUTCHISON. I heard about the Ethiopian League or whatever it is called, for the first time, from you and from members of this committee. I had never heard of the organization prior to that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean you had never heard of it by name?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I had never heard of it by name. I have no recollection of any such organization, anything that answers to that description.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you take part in the activities of any group which was engaged in promoting public sentiment in favor of Ethiopia against Italy?

Dr. HUTCHISON. To the best of my recollection, no, I did not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Rev. Joseph S. Nowak?

Dr. HUTCHISON. Yes, I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you first become acquainted with him?

Dr. HUTCHISON. In the year 1932-33 at Princeton Theological Seminary. He and I transferred to Union in the fall of 1933. I knew him as a fellow student there. I knew him also as a fellow Presbyterian minister and as a friend in Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you graduate at the same time from Union Theological Seminary?

Dr. HUTCHISON. We graduated in May of 1935.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he assigned to ministerial work in Baltimore also?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I would like to correct one minor inaccuracy in my tenancy before the executive session of your committee a month ago. At the time I said that Joe Nowak went to Baltimore in 1935. I have since communicated with him by phone and by mail, and he informs me that he went down in the summer of 1934, and I am quite prepared to accept his word for that.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say he went there in 1934. It must have been on a plan to commute from Baltimore to New York.

Dr. HUTCHISON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Because he was still in your classes.

Dr. HUTCHISON. He had a little Polish Presbyterian Church in east Baltimore and commuted weekends to Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. Just the same as you did from January until May of 1935.

Dr. HUTCHISON. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you retain your acquaintanceship and friendship with him after coming to Baltimore?

Dr. HUTCHISON. Yes; he ushered at my wedding, as a matter of fact, and I saw him not infrequently.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you been associated with him in any way since you left Baltimore in 1937, November 1937?

Dr. HUTCHISON. At most I saw him once or twice. I cannot recall that I did, but I have had no contact with him except to communicate with him by telephone and by letter after this broke.

Mr. WALTER. When was the last time you talked with him by telephone?

Dr. HUTCHISON. About 2 or 3 weeks ago. I called, incidentally, to ask him if he had any recollection of an episode which was alleged to us, as to Nowak and to me, by a witness before this committee. The committee had, it seemed to me, and it seemed to my counsel, implied that Nowak had gone a good deal further than I had gone in my testimony in admitting this connection.

I called him on counsel's advice in order to, as counsel said, to refresh my memory. I found somewhat to my surprise that he had categorically denied the particular contact that was under question, as I had denied it.

Mr. WALTER. What was that?

Dr. HUTCHISON. In executive session, sir, about a month ago it was stated that Mr. Reno or Mr. Dixon had testified that when Joe Nowak and I had gone to Baltimore, we had—and I think I quote verbatim here—reported to the Communist Party headquarters for orders before we went to the churches to which we had been assigned. When this was put to me in executive session it seemed so fantastic and so ridiculous that I fumbled the ball for a minute and instead of making a categorical denial, I said I had no recollection of it. I should like to make that categorical denial right now. That statement is false.

Mr. WALTER. Is the headquarters of the American League Against War and Fascism—

Dr. HUTCHISON. Subsequently the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Mr. WALTER (continuing). The headquarters of the Communist Party?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I don't know where the Communist Party headquarters were in Baltimore. I was never there. I learned the location of that headquarters from this committee a month ago.

Mr. WALTER. You were never in the Communist Party headquarters in Baltimore?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I was never in the Communist Party headquarters in Baltimore.

(At this point Dr. Hutchison conferred with Mr. Ketcham.)

Dr. HUTCHISON. Or in any other place, and incidentally, while you are on that, I should like to deny categorically—and I realize under

oath—that I ever sought membership in the Communist Party, ever was a member of that party, or ever expect to be a member of that party.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Counsel, may I ask a question at this point? Let us more closely locate the Communist Party headquarters in Baltimore at that time in order that there may be no possible doubt on this point. During the course of the executive session I asked you a question, or rather, made a statement:

Continuing the testimony of Mr. Reno he identified the party headquarters of the Communist Party at that time as being at the corner of Pratt and North Bond Street in an old building there close to the waterfront.

In that connection I have found since that it was Pratt and South Bond Streets instead of as originally phrased in this question. Were you ever at a meeting at that location?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I was not, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you.

Dr. HUTCHISON. I might say that it has taken considerable recollection for me to realize even in what geographical area of the city of Baltimore, Pratt and Bond or Pratt and South are, and whether they are north and south or east and west streets.

Mr. JACKSON. Have you since determined in your own recollection as to where that would be approximately?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I would have to do a good deal of searching if I went to Baltimore and looked for it now, but I should like to deny categorically that I ever knew the location of the Communist Party headquarters or was ever there.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well; thank you.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this question, Mr. Chairman: Might you have been there and not have known they were Communist Party headquarters?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I suppose that is possible, but I have no recollection of ever having been to a place that was even remotely indicated as Communist Party headquarters.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you go to any headquarters in Baltimore of any political organization known to you to be a political organization or a political committee?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I have absolutely no recollection of doing such a thing, sir.

Mr. WALTER. Do you know Leonard Patterson?

Dr. HUTCHISON. No, sir; I do not.

Mr. JACKSON. Leonard Patterson, I think it should be said for the record, was the Young Communist League organizer, is that correct, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir; he was the organizer of the Young Communist League.

Mr. JACKSON. In Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. In Baltimore from 1934 until near the end of 1935.

Mr. JACKSON. He is a Negro.

Dr. HUTCHISON. I wouldn't have known had you not told me.

Mr. JACKSON. I wanted to say that to refresh your recollection, but you repeat that you did not know Leonard Patterson?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I did not.

Mr. WALTER. Do you know Mary Himoff?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I did not know anybody by that name.

Mr. WALTER. Did you know Earl Dixon?

Dr. HUTCHINSON. No, sir; I did not. I was asked that question in the executive session, and I have spent the month since then trying to recall anybody who might have answered to that name, and I did not know and never knew anybody named Dixon, or I believe you stated in executive session that his real name was Reno or Sereno or something of the sort.

Mr. JACKSON. I think counsel should identify Reno, alias Dixon, for the record.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Earl C. Reno was transferred from the Detroit area to Baltimore in April 1935 as the organizer of the Communist Party.

Dr. HUTCHISON. In 1935?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Dr. HUTCHISON. What time of the year, sir?

Mr. TAVENNER. April 1935. I believe the question has been asked you, but I want to make certain about it: Did you meet Earl Dixon, whose real name was Earl Reno, at any time in the Communist Party headquarters—

Dr. HUTCHISON. I did not.

Mr. TAVENNER. In Baltimore?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I did not.

(At this point Dr. Hutchinson conferred with Mr. Ketcham.)

Dr. HUTCHISON. I have not been to the headquarters, and I would think that logically would cover the question whether I met him there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, did you meet Earl Dixon—

Dr. HUTCHISON. Or anywhere else.

Mr. TAVENNER. At any other place?

Dr. HUTCHISON. No, sir. Now, as it has been suggested, I went to meetings here, there, and everywhere around Baltimore, and quite unknown to myself I may have met the man, but I am sure that I was never introduced to a man, never had any acquaintance with Mr. Dixon or Mr. Reno.

Mr. JACKSON. Preliminary to your appearance, Reverend, before the executive committee hearing a month ago, had you ever heard the name Earl Dixon?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I do not think I had, sir. This was news to me.

Mr. JACKSON. Or Earl C. Reno?

Dr. HUTCHISON. No, sir; I believe not.

Mr. JACKSON. Or Leonard Patterson?

Dr. HUTCHISON. No, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you.

Dr. HUTCHINSON. It was news to me at the executive session of your committee a month ago.

Mr. SCHIERER. Of course, you knew Reverend Joseph Nowak?

Dr. HUTCHISON. Yes, very well, indeed.

Mr. WATER. Did you and Reverend Joseph Nowak go to a building over the front door of which was a makeshift sign on which was contained the words "Communist Party Headquarters"?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I have no recollection of that at all.

Mr. WALTER. Did you or didn't you?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I did not.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you identify yourself at any time to a functionary of the Communist Party, whether it be Mr. Reno or any other functionary, as having come from the Union Theological Seminary in New York?

Dr. HUTCHISON. That is a ridiculous and fantastic falsehood.

(At this point Dr. Hutchison conferred with Mr. Ketcham.)

Mr. JACKSON. The answer is, you did not?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I did not. I identified it as a falsehood because this question was put to me a month ago, and it seemed at the time so fantastic and so bizarre that I simply fumbled the ball for the moment. I did not meet such a person.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you discuss at any time or engage in a conversation at any time with Mr. Leonard Patterson, at which Rev. Joseph S. Nowak was present, regarding the theory of the Communist Party and its principles?

Dr. HUTCHISON. Well, I have already said that to the best of my recollection I did not meet either of these men, and so it would hardly have been possible for me to have talked with them. Categorically I did not have such a conversation about the structure of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you discuss at any time with Reverend Nowak a plan to aid the Communist Party in work of any character?

Dr. HUTCHISON. Well, again, sir, this was a long time ago, and I can only say that I recall no such conversation, and furthermore, can never recall any attitudes which would lead me to discuss such a thing. In short, I was never that sympathetic with communism.

Mr. DOYLE. To what extent were you sympathetic with communism?

Dr. HUTCHISON. Only to the extent that it seemed to me, as it seemed to a large number of people then, that the Communists might be fighting for common objectives, i. e., some conception of international responsibility, some resistance to nazism and anti-Semitism.

Mr. DOYLE. What year was that?

Dr. HUTCHISON. This was 1935 to 1937, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you ever stop having that extent of sympathy with communism?

Dr. HUTCHISON. Yes, I did.

Mr. DOYLE. When?

Dr. HUTCHISON. As I have indicated in my testimony. Well, to the best of my recollection it was sometime in 1938. Now, again it is very difficult to recall precise dates and times, but I do remember very definitely that when the Nazi-Soviet pact was signed in 1939, I recall having been clear of it for sometime and recall being very much relieved that I had been clear of it for some time.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think it only fair to say to you, Dr. Hutchison, that Mr. Reno, in his testimony, stated that at this first conference that he held with you—which conference I understand you do deny as having taken place—

Dr. HUTCHISON. I do deny it, indeed.

Mr. TAVENNER (continuing). That you stated to him, both you and Reverend Nowak, that you were not members of the Communist Party.

Did you consult any functionary of the Communist Party in Baltimore about the manner in which you desired to carry out your work in any of these organizations to which we have referred?

Dr. HUTCHISON. To the best of my recollection I never carried on such a conversation with anyone who was known to me at the time to be a Communist. Now, I may have talked about tactics to people who were not then known to me to be Communist, but I can recall absolutely nothing, and I certainly would want to deny categorically that I ever consulted any known Communist for orders, directions, or anything of that sort. That is plainly false.

Mr. TAVENNER. I didn't ask you about orders. I asked you about advice and general suggestions as to how you should perform your work.

Dr. HUTCHISON. Well, now, my work in what?

Mr. TAVENNER. In any of these organizations. In particular, the organization of the American League Against War and Fascism.

Dr. HUTCHISON. Well, I have already indicated that I was a member of this league. I was sympathetic to its professed aims and objectives, and I well may have talked with this person or that person about how the league should pursue its business, but I can recall no specific conversation with a Communist on any of these matters.

(At this point Dr. Hutchison conferred with Mr. Ketcham.)

Dr. HUTCHISON. I didn't know who these Communists were, and, as I understand it, it was part of Communist strategy at the time to adopt false names and to proceed under false colors.

Mr. JACKSON. Would it be a fair statement, Reverend, to say that at no time have you ever consulted relative to the work of the Ethiopian League or of the American League Against War and Fascism with any individual who was known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. HUTCHISON. That is a very fair statement, a true statement.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you.

Mr. WALTER. Perhaps this question has been answered, Mr. Tavenner: Do you remember the address of this American League Against War and Fascism?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I don't remember its precise address, sir. This question was put to me when I was down here before, and I can locate it best by saying that it was on Park Avenue in Baltimore about 20 or 30 blocks below the church which I served, and that I do have a distinct recollection of going down the same street or same avenue, Park Avenue, to the building in which the American League Against War and Fascism had a room.

Mr. WALTER. That was not in the church?

Dr. HUTCHISON. The league office—oh, no, no. No, it was in a—counsel asked me several questions about this when I was here before, and, I am sorry, I would be able to locate it on the lower part of Park Avenue. It was a converted dwelling house which had been turned into offices, and, as I recall, the league had a room there.

Mr. TAVENNER. I referred at an earlier point in your testimony to certain demonstrations which were held in Baltimore. Did you take any part whatever in the demonstration that was conducted at the time of the docking of the German battleship *Emden*, in 1936?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I signed, along with a number of other people, a letter of protest to the mayor of Baltimore against a public demonstration for the battleship *Emden* and its crew, which had come to port. I did it because I thought the Nazis were unclean and evil

and that we should have as little to do with them as possible. I think I might well do the same thing over again.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that the full extent of your participation in the demonstration?

Dr. HUTCHISON. To the best of my recollection it is. I don't think I even went around to the demonstration. As I recall, I was busy with church business at the time it was held.

Mr. JACKSON. Did you take any part in any public demonstration in the way of making speeches or participating in any programs having to do with a demonstration against the *Emden*?

Dr. HUTCHINSON. I did not speak—to the best of my recollection I had no part whatsoever beyond signing this letter to the mayor which—

Mr. JACKSON. I gather then you did not attend public demonstrations or rallies on the occasion of this protest.

Dr. HUTCHISON. To the best of my recollection I had no contact with those demonstrations.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall that a sound truck was used and speeches were made from the sound truck down at the dock as a part of the demonstration?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I have no recollection on this score at all, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. You did not see the sound truck?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I have no recollection that I saw the sound truck or was in any part of the city at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you take any part in the preparation for the demonstration?

Dr. HUTCHISON. Well, once again, memory is fallible, but to the best of my recollection the only contact I had with the demonstration was to sign this letter to the mayor.

Mr. JACKSON. This letter was gotten up by what organization or group?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I don't know.

Mr. JACKSON. It contained the names, I assume, of representative citizens of the community?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I should certainly think so. I have no distinct recollection on that score at all. I do recall signing the letter. For personal reasons it created quite a commotion, and it is in this connection that I remember it. I must say that most of these things are very remote, and it is extremely difficult to dig up the distant past in the way in which the committee is asking me to do. I don't want to perjure myself. I want to speak as candidly and as accurately as I can, and it is extremely difficult to do.

Mr. JACKSON. Recalling the letter, or the occasion of your signing the letter, would you recall if you had, for instance—I believe counsel mentioned a sound truck—would you recall whether or not you had spoken on that occasion?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I would rather think I might recall that, and I have no recollection of it whatsoever.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you have any recollection of ever having spoken from a sound truck?

Dr. HUTCHISON. Yes; on one occasion I did.

Mr. WALTER. In Baltimore?

Dr. HUTCHISON. In Baltimore.

Mr. WALTER. What was the occasion?

Dr. HUTCHISON. Well, again, dating it as accurately as I can, it was in the summer, and that would make it either the summer of 1936 or 1937. It was a vacant lot somewhere in West Baltimore at which there was a meeting on the issue of anti-Semitism. It was a section of the city in which there were many Jewish people, and I spoke to this issue.

Mr. WALTER. Under the auspices of what organization?

Dr. HUTCHISON. Under the auspices of the American League Against War and Fascism. That, by the way, is the one distinct recollection I have of speaking under their auspices.

Mr. WALTER. Who invited you to address that gathering?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I have no distinct recollection there. I presume it was somebody connected with the city committee.

Mr. WALTER. Do you remember who were on the city committee?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I have given you all the names that I recall there, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. On the day prior to the demonstration at the docks we understand that you spoke at Johns Hopkins University at what was termed a strike of the student body or members of the student body; do you recall that?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I do recall speaking at Johns Hopkins University, but, as I remember it, it was a day on which the issue of peace was proposed, not the *Emden* issue.

Now, I may be wrong about that.

Mr. TAVENNER. It was the day before, as I understand it, the demonstration took place, and I am asking you whether there was any connection between anything that transpired at that meeting and the demonstration.

Dr. HUTCHISON. I have no recollection of this meeting beside the fact that I did speak at Johns Hopkins University, and I would have said that it was a meeting which attempted to focus student sentiment on the issue of militarism and for peace, issues of that sort.

Again I have no distinct recollection beyond that point.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask this question?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Going back, please, to that occasion when you recalled in answer to a question that you did speak from a sound truck on one occasion, who spoke in addition to you from that sound truck on that occasion?

Dr. HUTCHISON. There were other speakers, but for the life of me I have no recollection of who they were or what they said. I am sorry.

Mr. DOYLE. You have no recollection of even one other?

Dr. HUTCHISON. No, I don't. I recall that there were other speeches, and I have no more recollection of that than I knew what I had for dinner that night.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you recall whether they were by men or women or both?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I wouldn't be able to say about that, sir. This was 1936 or 1937 which makes it what—17 or 18 years ago.

Mr. DOYLE. That is quite true. How old were you in 1938?

Dr. HUTCHISON. Well, I am 42 now, and that was what—15 years ago, so I was in my early twenties.

(At this point Dr. Hutchison conferred with Mr. Ketcham.)

MR. TAVENNER. Do I understand from your testimony that you deny that you knowingly collaborated in any way with the Communist Party or functionaries of the Communist Party in the work of these organizations or any of them which you belonged to involved?

DR. HUTCHISON. Again I had the general impression that there were Communists in the league. I certainly would not want to say I did not know there were Communists in the league. It, by open profession, was an organization which sought to organize liberals, together with Communists, for the objectives which I stated, but I would not have been able to testify under oath at the time that any one of the people whom I knew were Communists.

MR. WALTER. Do you know Thurgood Marshall?

DR. HUTCHISON. The name doesn't mean a thing to me, sir.

MR. WALTER. Maybe I can refresh your recollection by telling you that Mr. Marshall was the speaker on the occasion we have just discussed.

DR. HUTCHISON. The *Emden* issue, you mean?

MR. WALTER. Yes. He alleged you and Reverend Nowak were on the sound truck with Marshall.

DR. HUTCHISON. I have no recollection on that score at all. I wouldn't be able to tell you whether he is short or tall or white or black.

(At this point Dr. Hutchison conferred with Mr. Ketcham.)

DR. HUTCHISON. To the best of my recollection I have denied being there.

MR. WALTER. You deny being there?

DR. HUTCHISON. At the *Emden* episode, yes. At the *Emden* episode, to the best of my recollection—I think I might have been there had I not been busy on other things, but I do have a recollection that when the *Emden*—

MR. WALTER. I am not talking about that. I am talking about the mass meeting—

DR. HUTCHISON. Where?

MR. WALTER. At some square, a neighborhood meeting.

DR. HUTCHISON. When?

MR. WALTER. On the occasion when you said that you spoke, the occasion being the day before the arrival of the *Emden*.

DR. HUTCHISON. No, I am sorry. You are confusing two things. I said that sometime in the summer of 1936 or 1937 there was a kind of neighborhood meeting somewhere in West Baltimore.

MR. WALTER. And that is the only time you spoke in Baltimore?

DR. HUTCHISON. Well, it is the only time—not the only time, no, sir. I do recall definitely putting the general case for the [American] League Against War and Fascism before a church young people's group, and I think I may well have spoken on other occasions. Again, I think I did. I should have said that I made a half dozen speeches for them in 2 years time. These are the two I recall.

MR. WALTER. I am talking now about sound-truck appearances.

MR. KETCHAM. Mr. Chairman, the witness already testified he did speak at Johns Hopkins University.

MR. JACKSON. Yes.

DR. HUTCHISON. I don't recall that there was a sound truck there.

MR. WALTER. All right.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. I just have one question. Reverend, did you ever have a discussion or an understanding with Rev. Joseph Nowak and Dr. Harry Ward in which the view was expressed that it would be only about 10 years from the date of that discussion or that understanding that the Communist Party would take over in the United States and that then you three would be leaders of that group?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I think that is fantastic and ridiculously untrue.

Mr. JACKSON. You deny that?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I deny that.

Mr. JACKSON. Anything else, Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. That is all.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Walter.

Mr. WALTER. Did you participate in a strike at Johns Hopkins University in April of 1936 on the day that the *Emden* landed?

Dr. HUTCHISON. Well, now, I told you previously I have no recollection of being at Hopkins. I do recall on one occasion making a speech—

Mr. WALTER. Do you deny that you were at Hopkins organizing a strike of the student body—

Dr. HUTCHISON. I deny that I was organizing a strike at Hopkins. I never had that much connection with Johns Hopkins University.

Mr. WALTER. Did you participate in a strike at the university?

Dr. HUTCHISON. Again, I made one speech there. My recollection of it is of an occasion when the issue was world peace. I did speak there then, but in asking me to date this precisely or tell you the precise circumstances, I am as unable to do that as I would be to tell you what kind of necktie I was wearing on that day.

Mr. WALTER. I don't think my question was that absurd. I had an idea that you could place the meeting because of the arrival of the *Emden*, and our information is that you were quite active in the demonstration that occurred at that time. As a matter of fact, we have been reliably informed that you had students at Johns Hopkins dressed as soldiers, German soldiers.

Dr. HUTCHISON. I never had that much connection with students at the Hopkins during my entire time in Baltimore.

Mr. WALTER. Then the information we have is in error.

Dr. HUTCHISON. I think it is quite in error.

Mr. WALTER. All right.

Mr. JACKSON. Anything further, Mr. Walter?

Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. No further questions.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Frazier?

Mr. FRAZIER. No questions.

Mr. JACKSON. So we can get it very clearly for the record—

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I change my thought there and ask a question?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes, Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. The reason I asked you what your age was in 1938 is because I judge that you were a fairly young man.

Dr. HUTCHISON. I was.

MR. DOYLE. I take it from what you have said, although this is the first time I have ever seen you, that you were of an inquiring mind.

DR. HUTCHISON. I hope so, sir.

MR. DOYLE. You mentioned Marxism in one of your statements a minute ago. To what extent, if any, did you accumulate a library on communism? I am not going into the question of book reading as such, but I very frankly am interested in the extent to which you were active, if you were, knowingly at any level with the Communist Party.

DR. HUTCHISON. I bought books on Marxism. I still buy them. I am very much interested in it. It seems to me to be one of the chief rivals for human allegiance to the faith I profess, namely, Christianity.

If you were to come to my library, you would see some books on Marxism, and for that I make no apology. The attitudes I have toward Marxism are a matter of public record that the committee can inquire into if they want. I edited a book last year in which I wrote an introduction undertaking to state what seems to me the attitude of Christianity toward Marxism, and this is a matter of public record.

The book is Christian Faith and Social Action, and pages 13 through 16 will give you as a matter of published record what I think on these scores and what I have thought for years and years.

MR. DOYLE. Is this a fair question: Since 1938 and 1939 in your pulpit or otherwise have you made any public declarations against organized communism?

DR. HUTCHISON. Day in and day out, sir.

MR. DOYLE. Give me, from your specific memory, 2 or 3 occasions when you did, and where.

DR. HUTCHISON. Well, I would suppose not a week goes by but what I have occasion to allude to communism in class, and if you want to know that, ask my students. I regard it as an altogether evil thing which freemen must resist at all costs, and furthermore, a thing which derives its demonic and evil quality from the fact that it is held as a religious faith.

MR. DOYLE. What students are those?

DR. HUTCHISON. Students at Williams College. Now, I have preached about it. I suppose scarcely a month goes by—I may say in my spare time I preach in the Methodist Church in Williamstown, and when I told a couple of members I had been subpoenaed to come down here, the attitude was one of complete surprise.

MR. DOYLE. Yes, but may I interrupt?

DR. HUTCHISON. Surely.

MR. DOYLE. Before you were subpoenaed, before you knew anything about the concern of this committee as to the extent of communism in Baltimore, where, if at all, did you publicly speak out against—

DR. HUTCHISON. You regard a sermon as publicly speaking out?

MR. DOYLE. I regard a sermon as very public if it is in an open meeting.

DR. HUTCHISON. I am very much interested in this question, sir, because I don't keep a diary and therefore have been hard put to it to tie down specific references. I do keep my old sermons, and some that I was preaching in Bayonne, N. J., from 1937 to 1940 had statements vigorously denouncing communism as an evil thing.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you still have copies of those?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I do.

Mr. DOYLE. Subsequent to 1938—you included to the year 1940. Subsequent to the year 1940 where, if at all, have you made public declarations against communism?

Dr. HUTCHISON. Well, again, sir, day in and day out, week in and week out, in classroom and in pulpit and in personal conversation.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you very much. I think it is fair to you for me to say the purport of my questions is to this basis: If a man has been identified in any way with a movement that he has had any reason to think was Communist-inspired or Communist infiltrated, and he is opposed to it, he speaks out against it, if he is intelligent at all, as soon as he discovers it.

Dr. HUTCHISON. I should suppose that one is recreant to his duty if he does not.

Mr. DOYLE. The purport of my question was to find out if you had been active against it.

Dr. HUTCHISON. My record there is open to the public, and I could wish the committee had conducted a more thorough investigation in order to get the truth about this because I think the record would speak for itself.

Mr. WALTER. You would be surprised if you knew how thorough this investigation was.

Dr. HUTCHISON. I do know, sir, in the investigation the committee did not consult the man in Baltimore who knew me best, my boss, the Reverend Guthrie Speers.

Mr. WALTER. I don't think we knew his name or we would certainly—

Dr. HUTCHISON. I gave the agent his name when the agent first came to see me, and he was appalled that you had not consulted with him, and he would be able, I think, to have cleared up some of the things without the expense and nuisance which has been involved.

Mr. JACKSON. May I say to the witness that if it is deemed necessary and desirable by the committee as it proceeds in this matter, we will be very happy to so check and bring all of the relevant facts into the matter.

Dr. HUTCHISON. I think they have not been brought in.

Mr. JACKSON. We shall be very happy to have any further information you may wish or desire to furnish to the committee. In the first place, I think it should be made absolutely clear that there has been no suggestion, Reverend, that you are or have been a member of the Communist Party. You were a resident in Baltimore at the time when there was a considerable turmoil, much of which was directed by the Communist Party.

Several of the organizations with which you are alleged to have been a member or in the activities of which you are purported to have taken part were organizations which have been the subject of investigation by committees because of known Communist direction.

However, I do want to make it very clear that there is no allegation, and there should be no connotation in the mind of anyone that this committee has alleged that you were a member of the Communist Party. That is not the case.

Dr. HUTCHISON. Mr. Chairman, could I say just a word on this score?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes.

Dr. HUTCHISON. I came to the executive session a month ago and was as candid and as honest as I could be, and I spent 3 weeks searching over the ground of my memory as adequately as I could, and I can only say, to bring me down a second time has been at very considerable personal inconvenience to me.

It has pulled me out of classes for 4 days in a space of a month, which is more time than I take off through a whole year. It has taken me away from a church service this evening which I will not be able to get back to.

Mr. JACKSON. The committee regrets any inconvenience it may have caused in that regard. However, I should like to ask you if, during your period of residence in Baltimore, you had an opportunity to draw any conclusions as to the degree of activity or of direction exercised by the Communist Party in these various organizations.

Did anything come to your attention personally which would indicate that the Communist Party did have a hand in the formulation of policies and direction of activities?

Dr. HUTCHISON. Only very vaguely, sir, if at all.

Mr. JACKSON. No personal knowledge whatever as you have testified?

Dr. HUTCHISON. That is correct, and when this became clear to me, I broke the tie and have had none since then.

Mr. JACKSON. I think during the course of the executive hearings you were asked a question as to whether or not, looking back on the matter in retrospect, there were activities carried on by the American League Against War and Fascism that were in fact helpful to the Communist Party.

Dr. HUTCHISON. Conceivably that is true.

Mr. JACKSON. Well, looking back on the situation, is it true or isn't it true that the things they did were helpful to the Communist Party?

Dr. HUTCHISON. In a practical sense I think no. That is to say, it seems to me that the [American] League Against War and Fascism was a washout. It simply didn't succeed at its professed objective. Looking back on it now I don't think it should have succeeded, and I think it is testimony to the good sense of the American people that it didn't but it didn't infiltrate what the Communists would call the broad groups of public opinion.

Mr. JACKSON. Again may I say that we regret any inconvenience we may have caused you in this matter.

Dr. HUTCHISON. May I say just one word more? I was interested, from the executive committee hearing, that the allegation seemed to be that Nowak had implicated himself more deeply than I and that I had better come clean or else. Nowak got precisely the same impression, as did my counsel who could not by any stretch of the imagination be called uncooperative—

Mr. WALTER. When was this?

Dr. HUTCHISON. This was a month ago, sir. Now, the business of setting witnesses off against each other seems to me to be a very dubious, and if I may say so—

Mr. JACKSON. May I say, there has been no effort made to play off against each other.

Dr. HUTCHISON. If I could see the record, I think I could prove it to you.

Mr. JACKSON. So far as communications are concerned, I might say they are in the possession of the committee, and we are aware of the exchange of letters.

Are there any further questions by committee members?

(At this point Dr. Hutchison conferred with Mr. Ketcham.)

Mr. JACKSON. It seems to be the consensus of the committee, Reverend Hutchison, that as long as the letters have been mentioned, the matter should be gone into at this time. As I say, we are in possession of copies of the communications. However, when did you first communicate with Mr. Nowak?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I have a carbon copy of the first letter I wrote to him when it was intimated to me by grapevine telegraph that he and I would be subpoenaed, and I will be very glad to give you a carbon copy of that, if you wish.

After my hearing on February 18, my counsel, Mr. Stuart Rand, was concerned because he thought I had been equivocal on the issue of this purported meeting with Dixon where Dixon had claimed that Nowak and I asked for directives, and he asked me in the interests of fair play and so on to write Nowak a letter and ask him about this.

I called him on the phone and followed up—he asked me to put it in writing, which I did. Do you want the whole letter or just part of it?

Mr. JACKSON. I want to get the facts.

Mr. WALTER. We have the original.

Dr. HUTCHISON. Of Nowak?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes. We have the exchange of communications. Now, what is the date? I want to get the chronological sequence.

Dr. HUTCHISON. March 9, 1954.

Mr. JACKSON. Was that communication answered by Reverend Nowak?

Dr. HUTCHISON. There is Nowak's letter.

Mr. JACKSON. What was the date of your letter?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I called him on the phone a week or so before this and asked him what his pitch was on this statement that he and I had had a meeting with Dixon, and he said, "Put it in writing," and I wrote the question to him as carefully as I could, and he wrote back stating that he had said to the committee that any such meeting between Joe Nowak and John Hutchison and Mr. Dixon was fantastic and that he had said so to the committee.

I am quoting here.

Mr. SCHERER. You wrote him two letters, didn't you?

Dr. HUTCHISON. Yes, I did. I heard from various friends that this was in the offing, and I wrote asking if he had heard that it was in the offing and what he knew about it.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you get an answer to that letter?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I did not get an answer to that letter.

Mr. SCHERER. Then you called him on the telephone?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I called him on the telephone after the executive committee session of February 18.

Mr. SCHERER. You didn't get an answer to the first letter you wrote?

Dr. HUTCHISON. I did not.

Mr. JACKSON. Any further questions? Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. With the thanks of the committee, Reverend Hutchison, the hearing is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 11:45 a. m., the hearing was adjourned.)

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**INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE
BALTIMORE AREA—Part 2**

*U.S. Congress House, Committee on
Un-American Activities.*

HEARING
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

MARCH 25, 1954

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 83D CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1953

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress, the following standing committees:

* * * * *

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American Activities.

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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE BALTIMORE AREA—Part 2

THURSDAY, MARCH 25, 1954

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10:29 a. m., in the Caucus Room, 362 Old House Office Building, Hon. Donald L. Jackson, presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Donald L. Jackson (acting chairman), Kit Clardy, Gordon H. Scherer, Francis E. Walter (appearance noted in transcript), and Clyde Doyle (appearance noted in transcript).

Staff members present: Robert L. Kunzig, counsel; Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., chief clerk; Raphael I. Nixon, director of research; and George E. Cooper, investigator.

Mr. JACKSON. The subcommittee will come to order.

Today's hearing is a continuation of previous hearings into the nature and extent and objectives of the Communist Party in the general area of Baltimore, Md.

For the purpose of taking testimony today, a subcommittee has been appointed by the chairman consisting of Messrs. Scherer and Walter, with Jackson acting as chairman.

Are you ready to proceed, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Who do you have as your first witness?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I have as the first witness Mr. Earl C. Reno.

Mr. Reno, will you come forward, please?

Mr. JACKSON. Will you raise your right hand, please, Mr. Reno?

Do you solemnly swear in the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. RENO. I do.

Mr. JACKSON. Be seated, please.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, you pointed out the general purpose of this hearing. It may be well, with your permission, to add a few remarks about the hearing.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is a continuation of the hearing held in this room on March the 18th when Dr. John A. Hutchison was called as a witness before the committee.

The chairman pointed out at that time that the fact that Dr. Hutchison is a minister should carry no connotation that the committee is investigating religion or any church.

During the course of the hearings in New York City on July 7, 1953, the committee received testimony indicating that two unnamed young ministers, who had graduated from the Union Theological Seminary in New York, were members of a committee in Baltimore for the defense of Ethiopia against the Italian invasion, the head of which was a functionary of the Communist Party.

The Communist Party in Baltimore at that time, according to testimony received by the committee, was especially interested in promoting activities of the American League Against War and Fascism, the Ethiopian League, and certain demonstrations, such as the demonstration which was conducted at the time of the docking of the German battleship *Emden*.

(Representative Clyde Doyle entered the hearing room at this point.)

The committee, desiring to supplement the extensive investigation of the extent, character, and objects of Communist Party activities in Baltimore, Md., proposes to inquire at this time as to the methods used by the Communist Party in carrying out its plans with regard to those organizations, whether or not the ministers referred to, in fact collaborated with functionaries of the Communist Party in the work of those organizations and, if so, whether that collaboration occurred with knowledge on their part of the function they were performing in aid of the Communist Party in attaining its objectives.

Mr. Reno—

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Let the record show at this point that also present are Congressman Clardy and Congressman Doyle.

One other point: Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. RENO. No, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. It is the practice of the committee to permit witnesses to be accompanied by counsel and to confer with counsel during the course of the interrogation. Is it your desire that you be represented by counsel?

Mr. RENO. I won't need counsel.

Mr. JACKSON. If at any time during the course of the hearing you decide that you would like to have counsel by your side, the committee will hear your request at that time.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

TESTIMONY OF EARL C. RENO

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your name, please, sir?

Mr. RENO. My name is Earl Reno.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Reno?

Mr. RENO. I was born at Muncie, Ind., October 9, 1902.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. RENO. At Marlow, N. H.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your occupation?

Mr. RENO. I am employed by the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?
Has the witness been given a copy of the printed rules?

Mr. RENO. I have one.

Mr. CLARDY. You have one.

I just wanted to be sure since you didn't have counsel present.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Reno, will you tell the committee, please, what educational training you have had?

Mr. RENO. Well, I have had high school and approximately 2 years of college, plus additional technical training in Pratt Institute, in Brooklyn, Toledo University, in Toledo, Ohio, and a lot of self-study and education.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you receive your 2 years of college training?

Mr. RENO. Toledo, Ohio; Toledo University.

(Representative Francis E. Walter entered the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, how you have been employed, by a brief statement, not in great detail, since the completion of your formal educational training?

Mr. RENO. Well, I have been employed as a skilled glassworker, as a designer of furniture, and a cabinetmaker. I have been employed in engineering offices as junior engineer in mechanical engineering, and as chief of maintenance section in one very large corporation.

Those are the principal forms of occupation, other than having been a functionary of the Communist Party of the United States.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you become a member of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. RENO. January 1931.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, the circumstances under which you became a member and where?

Mr. RENO. At that period I was living in Detroit, Mich., and it was in the height of the depression years, and I was drawn into the Communist Party movement through the medium of the Unemployment Councils. Personally, I was not unemployed, but in my neighborhood practically all of the people were unemployed. Being friends and neighbors, my sympathies were with them and I participated quite actively in the work of the Unemployment Councils with those people, and in the process I met leading people of the Communist Party in Detroit, and after long discussions I finally became a member.

I felt at that time that the Communist Party had the answers to such problems as the sufferings that the people encountered during the depression years.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you remained a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RENO. I was a member of the Communist Party until April or May 1942.

Mr. TAVENNER. Before your testimony is completed I will ask you the circumstances under which you left the party.

You stated you were a functionary of the Communist Party for 10 years.

What was the nature of the position that you held in the Communist Party?

Mr. RENO. I was section organizer of the east side of Detroit, in the Michigan district of the Communist Party, in 1931.

During 1932, 1933, 1934 I was organizational secretary of the Michigan district of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you speak just a little louder, please?

Mr. RENO. In 1935, April 1935 specifically, I came to Baltimore as the Communist Party organizer of the Maryland section of the Communist Party, United States of America, and remained there until the end of 1936.

I returned to Detroit, Mich., in 1937 and, upon my arrival in Detroit, in January 1937, I was sent to Flint, Mich., as the section organizer of Flint, until approximately September 1937, when I returned to Detroit and assumed the post again as organizational secretary of the Michigan district.

In 1938 I was made district secretary of the Michigan district of the Communist Party.

In 1939, January specifically, I was sent to the Chicago, Ill., district as sort of field or State organizer for the State of Illinois in the area south of Chicago.

In 1940 I went to Gary, Ind., as section organizer of the Communist Party in Gary and State chairman of the Communist Party of Indiana.

In 1942 I separated myself from the Communist Party and left.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated you were assigned to the city of Baltimore as the Communist Party organizer in April 1935, and remained there until close to the end of the year of 1936.

Mr. RENO. That's right.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you took up your duties in Baltimore, what name did you use?

Mr. RENO. When I was in Baltimore, I used the name of Earl Dixon—D-i-x-o-n.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why was that?

Mr. RENO. Well, when I came to Baltimore the party was in a sort of demoralized situation, and there was a feeling in New York before I left if I were to assume that name it would give me an advantage in finding where the demoralization lay and help in cleaning it up; it would give no key to the local people in my past experience.

That was the main reason. Any other reason I don't know. It was done in discussion with the national committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you use the name of Dixon while you were Communist Party organizer in any of these other territories to which you were assigned?

Mr. RENO. No; I always used my correct name, except in Baltimore.

Mr. JACKSON. My understanding is that you were instructed to take another name.

Mr. RENO. That's right.

Mr. JACKSON. Instructed by the Communist Party?

Mr. RENO. That's right.

Mr. TAVENNER. You state that the Communist Party was in a demoralized state in Baltimore when you first went there. Will you expand upon that and tell us what you mean?

Mr. RENO. Well, the membership in number was very low.

Mr. TAVENNER. About how many were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. RENO. Actually, there were between 36 and 40 in good standing and probably another 45 that hadn't been checked for membership or dues for a long period. The membership would not have exceeded 75, and actually in good standing it was about 40.

Mr. CLARDY. May I inquire, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. Would you explain what you mean by "good standing?"

Mr. RENO. Well, by "good standing" I mean people who have paid their dues to date, attended their regular unit meetings, and were comparatively active in one way or another in carrying out Communist Party activity.

Mr. CLARDY. Was one of the tests whether or not they had accepted, without question, party discipline?

Mr. RENO. That would be a basis of good standing; yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were telling us of the state of the party when you first arrived in Baltimore. How many groups or cells of the Communist Party were in Baltimore at that time, if you can recall?

Mr. RENO. We probably had seven.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, in what work the Communist Party engaged after you took over its management in Baltimore?

Mr. RENO. Well, one of the principal things that lay before the Communist Party at that time was the development of what is termed basic activity. By "basic activity" I mean such things as the development of a strike struggle, or an unemployed struggle, or developing the issue among any group of people, and developing some kind of activity, bringing together organized groups, and through the process of this activity, in the organization of the people, extending the influence of the Communist Party.

Mr. SCHERER. Pardon me. When you say "developing strike activity" you mean inciting strikes?

Mr. RENO. I mean actually giving the inspiration and the leadership and the organization for the development of strikes inside the factory. I suppose—

Mr. SCHERER. You mean the Communist Party did that?

Mr. RENO. That is what I mean; yes.

Mr. SCHERER. That was part of your duties as an organizer?

Mr. RENO. That's right.

Mr. SCHERER. And then when I use the word "inciting," that is a correct use of the word, is it not?

Mr. RENO. I suppose it can be used that way; yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Go ahead, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Since the subject of strikes has been mentioned, did your work or the work of the Communist Party in Baltimore result in any activity of the Communist Party in the development of strikes?

Mr. RENO. During the period I was in Baltimore we had developed a strike in the Eastern Rolling Mill, very largely through the work of one member of the Communist Party that we had sent to work in that plant.

There was a strike of the seamen on the waterfront.

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a moment. Who was the individual Communist Party member who took the leadership in the strike at the Eastern Rolling Mill?

Mr. RENO. The person that we used in the Eastern Rolling Mill was sent to us from New York.

Mr. SCHERER. When you say "we used," you mean the Communist Party used?

Mr. RENO. That's right. When I say "we" in this sense——

Mr. SCHERER. To develop the strike you are going to tell us about?

Mr. RENO. That's right.

A young man had been sent to us from New York.

Mr. TAVENNER. Sent by whom?

Mr. RENO. By the Young Communist League of New York.

He was supposed to be employed by the Young Communist League in Baltimore. We had him go to work in the Eastern Rolling Mill and, by assisting him and through his work inside the mill, we were able to develop a committee that developed the strike there that led to the organization of the steelworkers in the Eastern Rolling Mill.

The person came to us—originally he used the name Smith and later adopted the name Howard.

Mr. SCHERER. Were you generally interested in the problems of the worker in developing these strikes or inciting these strikes or was the party interested in merely creating the strike?

Mr. RENO. Well, I think it is necessary to understand that the program of the Communist Party calls for an overall objective, that is, an ultimate objective. The ultimate objective, of course, is the revolutionary overthrow of the existing order of government and the establishment of what they term the proletarian dictatorship.

A strike struggle, an unemployed struggle, a struggle for Negro rights, a struggle for civil rights, is a tactical objective.

The tactical objective is a step in the direction of the ultimate objective. It is used as a training ground for workers or other groups in the struggle for the ultimate objective of the Communist Party.

Therefore, I would say that these strike struggles, the tactical objective, the principal purpose therefor is to begin the road toward the ultimate objective, other than anything else. However, it is always the propaganda that we are benefiting the workers; we are taking up their immediate aims and issues for their good. However, the Communist keeps in mind at all times the ultimate objective and, therefore, each tactical step is developed for the purpose of reaching that final aim.

Mr. SCHERER. Then what I indicated by my question is true—the Communist Party was primarily interested in the strike as a strike rather than the problems of the workingman?

Mr. RENO. The Communist is interested in the strike primarily as a training ground for the ultimate objective.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this question, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Have you yet stated what the ultimate objective of the Communist Party is?

Mr. RENO. I did a moment ago.

Mr. DOYLE. I ask you to state——

Mr. RENO. The overall objective of the Communist Party is the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the Government as it is established, and the establishment of what Communists call the proletarian dictatorship.

Mr. DOYLE. When you say "the revolutionary overthrow," in what sense do you use the term "revolutionary overthrow" or what—

Mr. RENO. I think an examination of the program of the Communist International published in 1933 would answer the question. They say, quite frankly, in there:

This means the forcible overthrow. We disdain peaceful methods, and this means the forcible, violent overthrow of the existing government.

Mr. DOYLE. Forceful. By what means of force?

Mr. RENO. By arming what the Communists term the proletariat; by seizing the seats of government; by liquidating the law enforcement agencies, liquidating such things as parliament and establishing a dictatorship.

Mr. DOYLE. By "liquidating them," do you mean at the ballot box?

Mr. RENO. Not at all. The Communist Party—

Mr. DOYLE. By constitutional methods and means, or what?

Mr. RENO. The Communist Party in its program says, quite distinctly, that they have no use for parliamentary forms.

This was the original basis for splitting from the old Socialist Party in 1919.

The Communist Party places itself on the revolutionary, or the forcible, the violent destruction of capitalism and its forms of government.

Mr. DOYLE. You mean even to the extent of using ammunition and arms?

Mr. RENO. Quite so, because they say, in several places, to try to infiltrate the Armed Forces, to turn their arms against their own government, rather than to use it in a war against some other nation.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you.

Mr. CLARDY. May I inquire, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. Could you sum it up by saying, then, that they have the policy of "off with the heads of all the sinners"?

Mr. RENO. Well, I suppose that's a term that could be used almost literally.

Mr. CLARDY. And would you further say that the only practical difference between the soft-headed Socialists and the Communist Party, as you have been describing it, is the advocacy by the Communist Party of the use of force and violence, as you have described it, to achieve their end as distinguished from the other method of trying to do it through parliamentary procedures?

Mr. RENO. That is my understanding; yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated another objective of the Communist Party in Baltimore under your leadership involved work in the seamen's strike.

Mr. RENO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee about that?

Mr. RENO. We always maintained what was called the marine unit, composed of Communist Party members who were seamen.

We also maintained a full-time waterfront organizer for the Communist Party.

In 1936, through the efforts of the Communist Party members who were seamen, we were able to develop a strike among the seamen in Baltimore.

Mr. WALTER. Who directed that strike?

Mr. RENO. The principal character in that strike was Patrick Whalen.

Mr. WALTER. What has happened to him? Do you know?

Mr. RENO. He, I understand, died when a ship was torpedoed during the war.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, whether any leaders of the Communist Party in other areas of the United States lent their aid during the course of the seamen's strike to which you referred?

Mr. RENO. Well, of course, we had need of calling on Roy Hudson, who was a member of the national bureau of the Communist Party, for assistance.

Mr. TAVENNER. Roy Hudson?

Mr. RENO. Yes.

And we had help from what is known as the national fraction of the seamen in New York.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there any other strikes in the Baltimore area during the period you were there between April 1935 and the latter part of 1936 in which the Communist Party took an active part?

Mr. RENO. There was a strike in the Celanese Corp. at Cumberland, in which the Communist Party played quite a prominent part.

During the summer of 1936 we had sent some people to Cumberland for the purpose of organizing the Communist Party there, and as a result of their activity during that period approximately 50 people in the Frostburg-Cumberland area had been recruited to the Communist Party. Some of these people were employed in the Celanese plant and, through the work with these people in the Celanese plant, we were able to develop a strike there, too.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the leaders of that movement who were sent by the Communist Party in Baltimore to Cumberland?

Mr. RENO. Well, among the people we sent during the summer of 1936 was one man named Tom Pinkerton, the Howard that I named before, or Smith, who had been previously in the Eastern Rolling Mill, and a woman named Evelyn Howard. At a later period we sent other people from time to time, but they were there during the summer of 1936 for the purpose of organizing the Communist Party in that area.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what other types of activity did the Communist Party engage, in Baltimore, under your leadership?

Mr. RENO. In 1935 the Ethiopian Defense Committee was developed. We had assigned Leonard Patterson, who at that time was the Young Communist League organizer in Baltimore, to get together a small group of people, and we gave him the money to open a headquarters on Pennsylvania Avenue in Baltimore, a store front, and to begin activity of street corner meetings, mass meetings, conferences, to utilize the attack that Mussolini had made upon the Ethiopian people as an issue whereby we could penetrate deeper among the Negro people of Baltimore.

Almost at the same time we assigned people to develop the American League Against War and Fascism, to use the issue of Hitler and the general international hatred for Hitler as another instrument whereby we could reach wide groups of the American population.

These, I think, would be the major activities during this period.

Mr. SCHERER. Again, Mr. Reno, was your interest in the Negro directed to the problems of the Negro and discriminations against the Negro, or was it merely to attract him to the Communist cause?

Mr. RENO. I am afraid that the prime interest in penetrating the Negro people was to use their natural feeling of resentment against depression and segregation, to develop a national movement among the Negro people as a sort of an auxiliary to the revolutionary aims of the Communist Party.

Mr. SCHERER. Will you state categorically, then, that the primary interest of the Communist Party was not in the problem of the Negro?

Mr. RENO. That is my impression; yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Is that not characteristic of all of the operations of the Communist Party as they relate to minority groups or to causes, that is, that the Communist Party does, in fact, parallel these groups and these causes to the extent that the causes and groups can serve the end goal of world domination by the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. RENO. I don't want to use all the time it would take to develop the theory of tactics and strategy of the Communist Party. However, to make it as brief as possible, the Communist Party always has as its main objective that thing I have stated before, the revolutionary overthrow of the existing form of government, the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship; and toward this aim they have what is called their main line of strategy. The main force of achieving this is what they call the proletariat or the industrial working class.

As first-line reserve to the industrial proletariat in achieving the overthrow of the existing government, they have what is called the national minorities—specifically in the United States the Negro people. This is the first line of reserve to the main revolutionary force, and in this respect all work in all national minorities, whether it is Negro people or any other national group—they are approached; their problems are taken up; they are utilized for the purpose of arousing this particular group of people, so that an organized auxiliary or an organized reserve for the revolution is developed.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask this?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. A few minutes ago, in answer to the chairman—he asked about the Negroes—you said, "That is my impression."

You were a high functionary in the Communist Party?

Mr. RENO. Well, I could make that much more definite.

Mr. DOYLE. That is what I am asking you. If I were just reading your statement, that that was your impression, I would take it you were not very firm in what you were saying.

Mr. RENO. Well, what I said—

Mr. DOYLE. Therefore, I am asking you, frankly: How much do you know about that? Is it just an impression?

Mr. RENO. No.

Mr. DOYLE. Or is it a matter of your personal knowledge as a high functionary?

Mr. RENO. I have just outlined what is the main objective, the strategy and the tactical approach. In view of what I have just said, in this light, there is no question that the Negro people, the problems of the Negro people are utilized for the purpose of mobilizing them as an auxiliary force for the revolutionary aims of the Communist Party, and that is their prime interest.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you.

Mr. WALTER. From whom did you receive your instruction?

Mr. RENO. Specifically which instruction, sir?

Mr. WALTER. In carrying out this pronounced policy.

Mr. RENO. The principal policy is developed by the national committee of the Communist Party, and the principles and the policies and program developed by the national committee are transmitted to the various districts and the districts apply them as they fit in the specific conditions of their area.

Mr. WALTER. How were they transmitted?

Mr. RENO. They were transmitted sometimes through the discussions at the enlarged national committee meetings; sometimes by letter, and sometimes by visits from the members of the national committee.

Mr. WALTER. What I am getting to is this: Did you ever have contact with the people who devised the various activities?

Mr. RENO. Quite regularly; yes.

Mr. WALTER. And who were they?

Mr. RENO. Well, they were members of the national committee, such people as Earl Browder, Jack Stachel, Roy Hudson, other members of the national committee.

It was quite necessary in that period to be in fairly close contact so that you didn't divert or get too far away from the national position.

All policies are developed in this way, and the national committee transmits them to the districts, to the sections, to the units, and specific application in each place is adapted according to local conditions.

Mr. WALTER. From whom did the instructions come concerning the strike on the waterfront?

Mr. RENO. That was in discussion with the national fraction of the seamen, at that time headed by Roy Hudson, who was also a member, incidentally, of the national bureau of the Communist Party in that period.

Mr. WALTER. Where is he now?

Mr. RENO. I have no idea.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, the committee subpoenaed Roy Hudson before it in California in December, but he refused to answer any material question on the ground that to do so might tend to incriminate him.

Mr. WALTER. What is he doing now, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. I do not know of the full nature of his activities now.

Mr. WALTER. All right.

Mr. TAVENNER. But in part he has a position in which he is working, outside of the Communist Party, in California.

Mr. SCHERER. Wasn't he one of the belligerent witnesses we had out there, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. Fairly so.

Mr. JACKSON. Practically all of them we had out there were bel-ligerent.

Mr. CLARDY. Is that typical of California?

Mr. JACKSON. No, but it is typical of the Communist Party line.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you describe a little more in detail how the Ethiopian Defense Committee functioned and also how the American League Against War and Fascism functioned while you were in Baltimore?

Mr. RENO. Well, in its inception the Communist Party assigned people to develop the activities of the two organizations. It was their task to surround themselves with as many nonparty people as possible and to spread the movement as far as they could, to at least give the appearance of being a genuine movement of the population of Baltimore.

The Ethiopian Defense Committee was primarily a committee that conducted street-corner meetings, mass meetings, and conferences.

The American League Against War and Fascism became a much larger organization, did draw in a considerable number of people, and their activities were on a larger scale. There were demonstrations, such as that of the arrival of the German battleship *Emden*. There were street-corner meetings of considerable size, as, for example, one where a large platform had been built at the corner of Irwin and East Baltimore Streets, and quite a large mass meeting there, with loudspeakers, lights, and so forth, and the control of these organizations was maintained by what we considered at that time Communist Party fractions, or through the organized Communist Party members who worked inside these organizations.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the Communist Party leaders assigned to develop these two organizations?

Mr. RENO. I've already said we had assigned Leonard Patterson, who was at that time Young Communist League organizer in Baltimore, and with him a couple of others who I don't recall at the moment.

Mr. TAVENNER. To which organization?

Mr. RENO. That was the Ethiopian Defense Committee.

For the American League Against War and Fascism we had assigned Sam Swerdloff as executive secretary of the city. There were other people who were assigned, too, 2 people named Bohannon and 1 named Schlesinger. They formed the Communist Party—

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give their names more fully? Do you recall their full names?

Mr. RENO. Well, I recall Walter Schlesinger, a YCL member; Edith and Walter Bohannon, members of the Communist Party; and there are still others at the moment I don't recall, and these people formed the first core and around them by calling conferences and setting up a city committee they were able to involve a considerable number of people other than Communist Party people.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of a person by the name of Swerdloff. What was his first name?

Mr. RENO. Sam.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, may I inquire?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. You used the expression "they were able to involve a number of other people." Would you explain what you mean, how that involvement took place and what it was?

Mr. RENO. There is no question that in the period of 1936 and 1935 the danger of German fascism was a very great danger, and there is also no doubt that millions of people were afraid and alarmed about German fascism.

It was possible for Communist Party people to approach, oh, people on a very wide scale on this issue, that by working with, coming into the American League Against War and Fascism they would be able to fight against the danger of Hitler and nazism and a great many people responded to this.

Mr. WALTER. How were they able to solicit the assistance of some respectable person to make contributions?

For example, I was a very substantial contributor to your organization. The man who solicited my contribution was a respectable, respected citizen.

How was a man imposed upon, if you want to call it that, to solicit from people who certainly had never been suspected of Communist leanings?

Mr. RENO. Well, we had a great many people who were at least in appearance and their position in the community looked upon as highly respectable people, not always known as Communist Party members, not known as Communist Party sympathizers, and holding such positions were able to approach any number of professional people, church people, all kinds of people, who were genuinely interested in fighting against nazism and would contribute and would actually do active work in such an organization.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CLARDY. May I continue, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. Then are you saying this: That the same tactics were used in connection with this anti-Nazi feeling that were used in trying to win minority groups to your support?

Mr. RENO. This is another instance where an issue that almost every strata of American society felt was being exploited for the purpose of deepening the influence of the Communist Party.

Mr. CLARDY. You suggested something else to me. You said they were able, in answer to Mr. Walter's question, to win people by or through the use of people who were not known to be members of the Communist Party. By that, did you mean to imply that they used people who had respectable positions in the community but who were secretly connected with the Communist apparatus, who worked therein?

Mr. RENO. Well, not in every instance secretly, but as far as the public was concerned they were respectable people and not particularly known as Communist Party members.

Mr. CLARDY. Are you implying by that, however, to mean they were at least in their mental slant Communist?

Mr. RENO. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. So that the public, not knowing that, would fall for almost any solicitation they made?

Mr. RENO. That is possible.

Mr. CLARDY. Isn't that typical of the Communist Party recruiting method?

Mr. RENO. That's very typical.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask this?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Right along that line I made a note—I thought I wrote down your exact statement—

They were able to gather around them a number of other people who were not members of the Communist Party.

Now, I think that was your exact wording.

Mr. RENO. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. That is quite different from the point Mr. Clardy has brought out.

Mr. RENO. Well, I think it's a different point entirely.

For example, I think the question I just answered—innocent people were contacted, and it was possible to reach them because in the contact the person couldn't be identified other than a respectable citizen of the community and not as a Communist Party member.

Mr. DOYLE. In other words, while Mr. Clardy brought out one segment of American citizens that you identified, there was the other segment of perfectly respectable citizens who were not Communist in their intention or leanings in any way that you brought in?

Mr. RENO. That is correct.

Mr. DOYLE. That is true, isn't it?

Mr. RENO. That's true.

Mr. DOYLE. And that, by far, was the largest number numerically, wasn't it?

Mr. RENO. It would have been the largest number; yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Now, may I ask you, so as to clarify my own thinking on this, as you proceed: This American League Against War and Fascism, the unit to which you have been testifying, was the Baltimore unit?

Mr. RENO. That's right.

Mr. DOYLE. Would that same control thereof which was maintained by the Communist Party members in Baltimore extend generally over the United States—in other words, that the Communist Party, to your knowledge, generally controlled the American League Against War and Fascism throughout the United States from 1935-36?

Mr. RENO. The condition that existed in Baltimore existed throughout the country.

There were national factions called from time to time of all the leading Communist Party people involved in the American League Against War and Fascism for the purpose of coordinating the activity of the Communist Party members in all of the American League branches throughout the country.

Mr. DOYLE. Then that must have meant in 1935 and 1936 the numerical strength of the Communist Party in the United States was sufficient numerically to actively organize or at least take control of the American League against War and Fascism in most of the American cities where it was organized?

Mr. RENO. That's correct.

I think there's one point, however—

Mr. DOYLE. Even including Pennsylvania, where it was active, according to Mr. Walter?

Mr. RENO. Yes.

I think there's one point, however: It wasn't necessary for the Communists to have a majority of the membership to control it.

Mr. DOYLE. Oh, I realize that.

Thank you.

Mr. JACKSON. What percentage, in an organization such as the American League Against War and Fascism, would the Communists require to effectively dominate the group?

Mr. RENO. Sometimes one person, if he's skillful, a sufficiently skillful Communist, can control an organization; in the same sense can control a very large local union of workers; but I would say the maximum number of Communists in the American League would not have exceeded 10 percent of its total membership.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Proceeding again to the question that was asked you by Congressman Doyle, would it be fair to give this illustration: That you, as the Communist Party organizer of the city, would be quite limited in your ability to get respectable citizens to join in an enterprise of that character?

Mr. RENO. That would be very limited.

Mr. TAVENNER. But if you were acting through some other citizen, who was not publicly known as a member of the Communist Party, you would expect to be more successful?

Mr. RENO. I would have a lot of additional arms then. I would be able to reach in a great many other places where otherwise I wouldn't be able to reach.

Mr. TAVENNER. I asked you a moment ago about Mr. Swerdloff, and I did not understand his first name.

Mr. RENO. Sam.

Mr. TAVENNER. Sam.

Was he a member of the Communist Party in Baltimore?

Mr. RENO. He was.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you spell his last name?

Mr. RENO. I believe it's spelled S-w-e-r-d-l-o-f-f.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know where he is today?

Mr. RENO. I just saw him in the room a while ago.

Mr. SCHERER. In this room?

Mr. RENO. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Is that the first time you have seen Mr. Swerdloff?

Mr. RENO. That's the first time I've seen him, I think, as long ago as 1938 or 1937.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did he hold in the Communist Party, if any?

Mr. RENO. He had no position in the Communist Party as such. He was assigned as executive secretary in the American League Against War and Fascism.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is he had no position while you remained in Baltimore?

Mr. RENO. That's right, in my experience.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state to the committee, please, whether the work done by these two organizations was considered successful from the standpoint of the overall Communist objective?

Mr. RENO. In the period that I was in Baltimore the work of the American League Against War and Fascism was considered an outstanding bit of work in that particular field.

I think the work conducted by the Baltimore chapter was used as an example of one of the best in the country at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us the names at this time of any other persons known to you personally to have been members of the Communist Party who were active in the organization of the American League Against War and Fascism?

Mr. RENO. Well, I don't recall all of them. I think I have already given the names of the Bohannons, Schesinger, a number of YCL persons whose names I don't recall at this minute.

Mr. CLARDY. Will you keep your voice up a little higher?

Mr. RENO. Dr. Albert Blumberg, who was an active leader of the Communist Party locally, was also active in the American League Against War and Fascism.

From time to time I would attend there as a delegate of the Communist Party, an affiliated group in the American League Against War and Fascism, but other people at the moment I don't recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you identify Albert Blumberg more definitely?

Mr. RENO. Albert Blumberg was known as Dr. Blumberg and was instructor in the department of philosophy at Johns Hopkins University, a member of the Communist Party. In the period before I left Baltimore I worked with him in his capacity at that time as organizational secretary.

Mr. TAVENNER. Organizational secretary of what?

Mr. RENO. Of the Communist Party.

Mr. SCHERER. Where is Dr. Blumberg today, if you know?

Mr. RENO. I have no idea.

Mr. SCHERER. When was the last time you saw him?

Mr. RENO. The last time I saw Dr. Albert Blumberg was in 1938.

Mr. SCHERER. Go ahead, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of various activities of the American League Against War and Fascism, including the demonstration of the docking of the German battleship *Emden*. Will you describe that more fully to the committee? What was done and what was sought to be accomplished?

Mr. RENO. Well, the docking of the battleship *Emden* was the epitome of fascism on the American shores, that is, in a symbolic sense. A great many people were aroused by the ship coming into the harbor, people who were genuinely anti-Fascist, not at all Communist, but anti-Fascist, and the docking of the ship it was decided would be an issue around which a very large movement could be developed.

Mr. SCHERER. When you say "it was decided," you mean it was decided by the Communist Party?

Mr. RENO. Well, it was first decided in the Communist Party city committee, and through the fraction of the Communist Party in the American League—the policy was transferred there, and—

Mr. SCHERER. That is what I meant. It was initially conceived and decided to start this demonstration of opposition in the Communist Party?

Mr. RENO. That is correct.

A tremendous amount of publicity was put out; a great many organizations contacted; a few dramatic instances—for instance, a truck driven through the streets with young YCL'ers on it in Nazi uniforms, and then finally the demonstration itself, which was of considerable size, at the docks where the *Emden* was docked, at Recreation Pier in Baltimore.

Mr. JACKSON. By YCL, you mean Young Communist League members?

Mr. RENO. Young Communist League members; yes.

Mr. CLARDY. All under the Communist Party inspiration?

Mr. RENO. That's right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was any campaign made in the nature of the addressing of communications to the mayor and the governor and other officials?

Mr. RENO. Letters were sent to the mayor, to the Governor, not to welcome the ship, not only by the American League but through their influence by a great many organizations throughout the city, even to the point where the Governor of the State, I think, had to get the advice of the State Department on what the whole problem was in meeting such a ship.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the value to the Communist Party of the organization and the promotion of this demonstration?

Mr. RENO. Well, the promotion of such a demonstration is in line with what I have previously stated. This puts them into motion. This is struggle in its active form, and in the process of bringing it into action against such a thing it draws them closer to the organization; it gives you the opportunity of using this to develop the propaganda that the Communist Party wants to implant through such an issue.

(Representative Gordon H. Scherer left the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. TAVENNER. During the period of your leadership in Baltimore, was there any activity of the Communist Party within military organizations?

Mr. RENO. In the early period when I came to Baltimore there was. At that time it was the policy of the National Committee of the Young Communist League to conduct what they called antimilitary work.

Part of the antimilitary work was to have some YCL members join the Armed Forces, and from the inside to develop such Communist propaganda as it was possible for the purpose of breaking down the spirit within the Army, so that the Army in the event of a crisis would be friendly to the Communist revolutionary program.

At that time we had people in Aberdeen Proving Ground, Holabird, Meade and other places in the area of Baltimore.

At a little later date the national decision was made that this type of work would no longer be conducted.

Mr. CLARDY. May I inquire, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. When was that, and why?

Mr. RENO. That type of work was conducted in 1934, in 1934 and the first part of 1935.

Mr. CLARDY. I mean when was it discontinued, and why?

Mr. RENO. It was discontinued about the first part of 1936 because, first of all, it had been ineffective; second, it was rather dangerous for the people inside and, considering the amount of progress made through it, it just wasn't worth the dangers and the effort.

Mr. CLARDY. The leaders thought there was more profit in using their energy in some other direction?

Mr. RENO. That's right.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask this question, please?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. A minute ago you said, "We had people at Aberdeen."

Mr. RENO. When I say "people"—

Mr. DOYLE. When you say "people," do you mean active members of the Communist Party?

Mr. RENO. Actually, they were members of the Young Communist League that had been planted there or colonized there.

Mr. DOYLE. At this point, Mr. Chairman, may I go back and ask the witness this question, please: You said that a man came to you by the name of Smith?

Mr. RENO. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. And was employed by the Young Communist League in Baltimore as the leader of one of the strikes there?

Mr. RENO. Right.

Mr. DOYLE. Was the Young Communist League strong in Baltimore at that time, in 1935 and 1936?

Mr. RENO. Not particularly. The work in the Eastern Rolling Mill was developed through the work of this one individual alone at that time.

Mr. DOYLE. Was he on salary from the Young Communist League in Baltimore?

Mr. RENO. He was not on salary. He had been sent here as a sort of an assistant to Leonard Patterson, who was the Young Communist League organizer.

Mr. DOYLE. Who paid his salary?

Mr. RENO. He went to work in the Eastern Rolling Mill to earn his wages.

Mr. DOYLE. The reason I asked that is you said he was employed by the Young Communist League. So, I—

Mr. RENO. Not on a salary basis. He had been sent here as a force to strengthen the Young Communist League in Baltimore.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you.

Mr. CLARDY. The correct word would have been he was "used"?

Mr. RENO. He was used.

Mr. CLARDY. By the Communist Party?

Mr. RENO. Yes; that's correct.

Mr. JACKSON. Go ahead, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. As a result of the activities of the Communist Party in the promotion of the American League Against War and Fascism and the Ethiopian Defense Committee, would you say that the strength of the Communist Party in membership was increased?

Mr. RENO. It was increased through that activity; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the extent of the increase during the period you were there in Baltimore?

Mr. RENO. It was not due entirely to the work of the American League—

Mr. TAVENNER. I understand.

Mr. RENO. But through the general activity of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. RENO. At the time I came I have already said there were approximately 40 people in good standing and some that were not in good standing. The membership would not have exceeded 75, and at the time I left Baltimore we had more than 185 members in the city, in good standing, another approximately 45 or 50 in Cumberland, in the State of Maryland. That would have been approximately the strength of the party. The party had tripled its membership in that period of 2 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. How did the Communist Party finance its activities in Baltimore while you were there?

Mr. RENO. The finances of the party were raised in a number of ways. First of all, there were such things as banquets, picnics, social affairs, parties in private homes, and so on, where collections were taken and used to finance the party.

Then we maintained at that time a list of people who would give at least \$1 or more per week as a contribution; and then, of course, there were larger—

Mr. TAVENNER. Were they Communist Party members?

Mr. RENO. Some of them were, and some were sympathizers.

Mr. CLARDY. How did you get that list?

Mr. RENO. Well, we compiled that list by visiting various people and asking them how much they would contribute weekly. Then, of course, there were other people who contributed larger sums.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this question, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. You said there were banquets and other functions. Were those under the auspices of the American League Against War and Fascism?

Mr. RENO. No; those would have been under the auspices of the Communist Party.

Mr. DOYLE. And were they attended by folks other than members of the Communist Party?

Mr. RENO. Yes; they were attended by other people.

Mr. DOYLE. And did they know it was under the auspices of the Communist Party, as far as you know?

Mr. RENO. That's right. They were usually organized as Communist Party affairs. For example, on May 1 at a mass meeting a collection would be taken, and the people who came generally realized that was a Communist Party meeting.

Mr. DOYLE. Were they largely attended?

Mr. RENO. We had meetings that were of considerable size; yes.

Then, for example, in 1936, during the election campaign, when Earl Browder spoke at the Lyric Theater, where we had an audience in excess of 2,300, a very large collection was taken.

This money was always used to finance and promote the work of the Communist Party.

Mr. DOYLE. When the people put money in that collection in 1936 that you have just related, they knew the money was going to the Communist Party in Baltimore?

Mr. RENO. There wouldn't have been any question because the meeting was publicly a meeting of the Communist Party presenting its national candidate.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, your estimate of the total funds raised for the carrying on of the work of the party, per year, while you were in Baltimore?

Mr. RENO. Well, roughly, in going over the amount that we needed and used, it would run about \$2,200 or \$2,300 per month, more or less. I would say an average of around \$2,300 per month.

This money was used to pay office rents, salaries of organizer, waterfront organizer, stenographer in the office, and so on.

The bulk of the money was spent actually for the printing, distribution of pamphlets, leaflets, organization of meetings, and so on; but I think the average would have been around \$2,200, \$2,300 per month in that period.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did that necessarily mean that some contributions were of a sizable amount?

Mr. RENO. Some of the contributions were of quite sizable amounts; yes.

(Representative Gordon H. Scherer returned to the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you, personally, acquainted with individuals who made sizable contributions to the Communist Party knowing that it was the Communist Party to whom they were contributing?

Mr. RENO. I know some of them; yes. Others that—some of them I knew; some I never knew. We had a few people who contributed sizably in Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were they members of the Communist Party?

Mr. RENO. They were not members of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you know they knew that these contributions were being made for the benefit of the Communist Party?

Mr. RENO. Well, I know because when I would speak to them I spoke to them as the organizer of the Communist Party and explained to them what the money was to be used for. There couldn't have been left any doubt in their mind.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you an open member of the Communist Party while working in Baltimore?

Mr. RENO. I was quite public; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did your name appear in the press as the organizer of the Communist Party?

Mr. RENO. It did.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is, the name Earl Dixon.

Mr. RENO. It did.

Mr. JACKSON. Did you make any effort at any time to conceal the fact that you were a party member?

Mr. RENO. No. On the contrary, as the organizer of the area, I made it a public point. I appeared regularly publicly; never separated my name from the Communist Party. It was part of the process of bringing the Communist Party to the fore, before the people.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you have any other occupation during that time?

Mr. RENO. I had no other occupation. I was a full——

Mr. SCHERER. That was your sole occupation?

Mr. RENO. That was my sole occupation.

Mr. SCHERER. You were paid by the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. RENO. That's right.

Mr. SCHERER. You had no other income at that time?

Mr. RENO. That's right.

Mr. CLARDY. How much were you paid?

Mr. RENO. How much was I paid?

Mr. CLARDY. Yes.

Mr. RENO. During the period I was in Baltimore my salary was supposed to have been \$25 per week.

Mr. CLARDY. \$25 per week?

Mr. RENO. Right.

Mr. DOYLE. That was in 1935 and 1936?

Mr. RENO. That's right.

Mr. JACKSON. Have wages gone up any in the meantime? Do you know?

Mr. RENO. Well, I don't know. I don't know.

Mr. JACKSON. Isn't that called slave labor?

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Yes, Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. At this point may I ask the witness this: Your statement that you were publicly known as an organizer of the Communist Party in 1935-36 in Baltimore leads me, from my information, to ask you this question: You stayed in the Communist Party until 1942 as a leading functionary?

Mr. RENO. That's right.

Mr. DOYLE. Now, when, if at all, in your judgment, and to your personal knowledge, did the Communist Party, as such, and you, as a functionary, if at all, go underground, or stop being known as a Communist organizer? In other words, was there a change in public opinion, to your knowledge, while you were a Communist Party functionary, with reference to the Communist Party? If so, about when did that occur?

Mr. RENO. The point is this: In my period of the Communist Party, the Communist Party organizer always appeared publicly for the party. They may have lived in semiunderground conditions, but publicly they appeared as the organizers of the Communist Party.

Mr. DOYLE. Up to and including 1942?

Mr. RENO. That's right.

Mr. DOYLE. Then when after that, if at all, to your knowledge, did the organizers of the Communist Party deliberately keep their identity as such organizers under cover?

Mr. RENO. That would have been after the period I was out for sometime, and I wouldn't be aware of exactly when such a thing happened.

Mr. TAVENNER. You wouldn't have any personal knowledge of an approximate time when the Communist Party leadership concealed its identity as such leaders?

Mr. RENO. I wouldn't at this time; no.

Mr. JACKSON. Probably after the Smith Act was held to be constitutional.

Mr. DOYLE. And when is that, for the purpose of the record?

Mr. JACKSON. The Smith Act, I believe, was held to be constitutional about 2 years ago.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask counsel or the staff to get that information for the purpose of the record?

Mr. TAVENNER. I am reasonably certain the October term of the Supreme Court in 1951.

Mr. DOYLE. 1951?

Mr. TAVENNER. But I will check it.

Mr. DOYLE. I think it would be valuable to have it appear at this point.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Have you finished, Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes. Thank you.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you make substantial collections from the same individual on more than one occasion?

Mr. RENO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How were those funds handled that you received in that manner?

Mr. RENO. We had a man who handled the finances. His business was taking the money, keeping the money, assisting in raising it, and keeping the books of the financial condition of the party at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he keep the names of the contributors?

Mr. RENO. He had lists of contributors; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was that individual?

Mr. RENO. He was known to me as Berne; Jimmy Berne.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell that last name?

Mr. RENO. Kown to me as Jimmy Berne—B-e-r-n-e.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give the committee, please, the names and the amounts of contributions which were made to you, personally, of a substantial character, whether the individuals making them were party members or not, provided the contributions were made under circumstances by which they were bound to have known the purpose for which they were going, namely, the Communist Party?

Mr. RENO. Well, frankly, at this moment it's a little bit difficult to recollect those incidents and people.

Mr. TAVENNER. If you are not positive in your own mind, I wouldn't want you to surmise in that.

Mr. RENO. I don't want to surmise. At a later date I might be able to recall, but at this moment it's slightly vague as to who and how much was contributed.

Mr. CLARDY. You can't recall definitely at the moment the name of any certain individual?

Mr. RENO. Well, yes; for that matter, I can recall 1 or 2, but the point is the exact amounts, the circumstances, and so on would be vague.

Mr. CLARDY. You have a method of refreshing your memory, however?

Mr. RENO. That is right. Probably if I thought of it, it would be recalled. However, at this moment it's somewhat vague.

Mr. JACKSON. If you do have any such recollection, will you please furnish the information to the committee?

Mr. RENO. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you have already stated the size of the membership in the party when you left in 1936. In the performance of the work of the Communist Party through the American League Against War and Fascism, and through the Ethiopian Defense Committee, did you utilize at any time the services of any ministers or any members of the ministry?

Mr. RENO. Yes. We had two ministers who were particularly active in the American League Against War and Fascism and the Ethiopian Defense Committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were their names?

Mr. RENO. Rev. Joseph Nowak and Rev. Jack Hutchison.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was the last time you saw Reverend Hutchison?

Mr. RENO. I saw him in the room here this morning. That's the first time I've seen him since 1936.

Mr. CLARDY. What was the name of the other individual, counsel?

Mr. RENO. Rev. Joseph Nowak.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you spell—

Mr. CLARDY. Is that the Nowak that is now in Detroit, Mich.?

Mr. RENO. He's here this morning, too, but I think he's employed in Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you spell his last name?

Mr. RENO. I believe it's N-o-w-a-k.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, the circumstances under which you first met them?

Mr. RENO. Well, I believe it was August or September 1935 in my office at the Communist Party headquarters at 209 South Bond Street in Baltimore. The two of them came to my office at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that the office of the headquarters of the Communist Party in Baltimore?

Mr. RENO. That's right. That was the office of the Communist Party of Baltimore.

Mr. CLARDY. May I inquire?

You say two of them. You mean the two you have just named?

Mr. RENO. That's right.

Mr. CLARDY. Came to your office together?

Mr. RENO. That's right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there any marking to indicate that it was the Communist Party headquarters?

Mr. RENO. No. I don't think we had a sign up. It was generally known as the Communist Party headquarters, and they knew I was a Communist Party organizer because they said so on the occasion, that they had come to me to discuss what to do.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right. Just tell the committee what occurred.

Mr. RENO. Well, the first recollection that I have, as I said, it was approximately August or September of 1935 in the office of the Communist Party in Baltimore, 209 South Bond Street. These two young ministers came there, said they had recently come from the Union Theological Seminary in New York, that they had been students of Harry Ward and intimated that they had some previous contact with the Communist Party and wanted to know in what way they could work.

Mr. DOYLE. Now, Mr. Counsel, please—

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. I don't want to be technical, or supertechnical, but it seems to me in this sort of proceeding that the witness be required to state what they said and not draw a conclusion that they intimated something.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; I think so.

Mr. JACKSON. Yes. I wish the witness would.

Mr. RENO. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. To the best of his recollection.

Mr. RENO. I am trying to do that, frankly.

Mr. JACKSON. It is impossible to state verbatim, of course, the conversation; but if you will give the general substance of the conversation, to the best of your recollection, we would appreciate it.

Mr. RENO. As I said, they came and told me they had recently come from the Union Theological Seminary; they were assigned to churches in Baltimore; that they had previously done some work in conjunction with the Communist Party, I believe, in New York and wanted to know in what way they could do cooperative work while in the period they were in Baltimore.

At that moment I said I wasn't quite sure, "Give me a few days to think about it," and I would discuss the question with them again later.

Then, in the meantime, I had had discussions with Leonard Patterson about the possibility of their working in the Ethiopian Defense Committee, and at the second meeting with them I suggested they work both with the American League Against War and Fascism and the Ethiopian Defense Committee, and they did. They became members of these two organizations and participated.

I remember them more as members of the American League Against War and Fascism than with the Ethiopian Defense Committee.

The work of the American league was wider, more active, and I recall their being much more active there than in the Ethiopian Defense Committee.

Mr. CLARDY. Witness, you said something about a second meeting, When was that?

Mr. RENO. The second meeting was somewhere between a week and 2 weeks after the first meeting.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. On this first meeting that you have spoken of, was any statement made by either of the two ministers as to whether or not they were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. RENO. Not that I recall. I don't believe they did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did they advise you at any time that they were not members of the Communist Party?

Mr. RENO. No. There were times when they asked the advisability of joining the Communist Party, which I advised them against, and at one point Dr. Albert Blumberg came and said one minister had asked the probability of leaving the church, joining the Communist Party. I said, "This is ridiculous."

Mr. DOYLE. Now, Mr. Chairman, I think again it is only fair, as long as this witness is undertaking to give a conversation which is very important, that this witness be required, as far as he may be able to do so, to fix the time and the place and the persons present when these alleged conversations occurred.

Mr. RENO. Well, the first—

Mr. DOYLE. I mean the conversations, Mr. Reno, between you and Nowak and this other preacher.

Mr. RENO. Yes.

Well, the first occasion I recall Leonard Patterson being in the party office. I don't know whether he heard the discussion or not. However, he was present. In fact, he was present in the office, I think, on 2 or 3 occasions when I had visits from both of them or one of them, and there is some possibility he can recall at least parts of the conversations.

I think Leonard Patterson has had personal conversations with them.

On other occasions I don't recall people being present. I know that I've had visits from them when there was no one but myself.

Mr. CLARDY. I couldn't hear that last.

Mr. RENO. I say that I have had visits with them when there was no one else present but myself. There are other occasions when I met them in the office of the American League Against War and Fascism, but on those occasions it was as people working in the American League.

Mr. JACKSON. How many visits would you say were made by one or both of these individuals to your office in Communist Party headquarters?

Mr. RENO. Well, the 2 of them together probably on 2 or 3 occasions. I wouldn't say three. I would limit it to two that I can recall.

Individual meetings—I can recall at least 2 or 3 on the part of Rev. Joseph Nowak, and probably 1 visit alone from the Reverend Jack Hutchison; but more than that specifically I can't recall.

Mr. DOYLE. Now, may I ask, Mr. Chairman, that this one visit that the witness has said occurred with Reverend Hutchison be fixed as to the approximate date and the place?

Mr. RENO. Yes.

Well, the first two meetings with them was in the period August–September 1953.

Mr. DOYLE. I refer to the one with Reverend Hutchison.

Mr. RENO. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. The one you remember.

Mr. JACKSON. That is the one. The witness is answering to that point.

Mr. RENO. Yes.

The next time I recall Reverend Hutchison is at the corner of North Eutaw and Franklin. The Communist Party headquarters had been moved there, and he came there. The extent of the discussion at that time I'm not too clear on.

Later, in 1936—it would have been approximately in the period of September or October of 1936—Dr. Albert Blumberg came to me to discuss the possibility of Reverend Hutchison joining the Communist Party, and at that time I said I didn't think it was wise and I thought it was rather ridiculous, and as long as I was in Baltimore I would not have accepted membership application from either of them.

Mr. SCHERER. Why?

Mr. RENO. I didn't feel a minister belonged in the Communist Party.

Mr. SCHERER. Why?

Mr. RENO. For several reasons.

If a minister were identified as a member of the Communist Party, his use in the Communist Party at that time would have been nil. In my own words, an unemployed minister of the Communist Party has no value.

Second, I felt ideologically the training for the ministry inevitably comes in conflict with the ideological training of the Communist, that if they did join they would inevitably come in conflict with it and, therefore, they would be of much more use not being members of the Communist Party than if they were members.

Mr. CLARDY. You mean use to the Communist Party?

Mr. RENO. That's right.

Mr. JACKSON. I gather in your position as a functionary of the Communist Party it was your feeling you could put ministers to a much better use if they were not members of the party than if they became members of the Communist Party?

Mr. RENO. That is correct.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you know whether or not that was a national policy of the Communist Party or was there some local autonomy as far as that was concerned?

Mr. RENO. That was a result of the local autonomy as far as it went. That was my personal attitude. I wouldn't want to say that was national policy.

Mr. CLARDY. Were you ever reprovved, however, by your superiors?

Mr. RENO. No; I never was criticized for that position.

Mr. CLARDY. That wasn't considered heresy and a departure from the Communist Party line, then, was it?

Mr. RENO. No.

Mr. CLARDY. You weren't punished in any way for doing that?

Mr. RENO. No; I wasn't.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of discussions about their joining the party. That indicated and was the same thing as saying they were not members when they came to see you, as far as you know?

Mr. RENO. As far as when they came to see me, they were not members. I didn't question them on that point, and I don't recall they said they were.

Mr. TAVENNER. They never paid dues that you know of?

Mr. RENO. They never paid dues in my period.

Mr. TAVENNER. They were never enrolled?

Mr. RENO. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. As card-carrying members of the Communist Party?

Mr. RENO. That is correct.

Mr. CLARDY. Did they accept your suggestions and advice as to what to do, however?

Mr. RENO. They followed the suggestions and advice of the—well, in some instances my personal advice, but in the main, in the work in the American League, they followed the Communist Party fraction position.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, the nature of your discussions with them about work that was to be done?

Mr. RENO. Well, I recall the first time I discussed what they could do was to become active in the Ethiopian Defense Committee and the

American League Against War and Fascism. In their capacities as ministers, it made it possible for them to go among ministers, to draw them into the activities of the American League Against War and Fascism and also to contact other professional elements.

In a wide sense, this answered one of the very early questions. Here were people who would work with the Communist Party, but not be identified as members of the Communist Party, members with a respectable standing in the community, who would reach very respectable elements and draw in perfectly innocent people.

This at least was my view, my attitude toward them. I am not saying they realized this or anything of the sort. That was my attitude, and they were instruments in this direction.

Mr. TAVENNER. On the various occasions you talked to them, after the first occasion that you have just testified about, what was the general subject of the conversations between them?

Mr. RENO. I think generally the conversations ran principally on how to develop the work in the American League Against War and Fascism.

Most of the conversations I can't recall too well and I don't want to try to give something here that is actually a vague memory.

Mr. JACKSON. But that was more or less the central theme of your activities during the period in question, the activities within the American League Against War and Fascism?

Mr. RENO. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall at this time any particular activity of the American League Against War and Fascism which you discussed with either or both of the ministers?

Mr. RENO. Well, of course, the various mass meetings, the one that I described before, at Irving and East Baltimore Streets; again the Battleship *Emden* demonstration, at which both of them spoke, in a sense. I think the one——

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, just a minute. You said you think. If you are not certain about it, don't——

Mr. RENO. In this I am reasonably certain. One minister made the invocation at the demonstration and the other one was one of the principal speakers.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask, Mr. Chairman, that he identify which is which, if he knows.

Mr. RENO. The Reverend Nowak made the invocation and the Reverend Jack Hutchison was one of the principal speakers at the demonstration.

Mr. TAVENNER. You said you thought so.

Mr. RENO. Well, that is——

Mr. TAVENNER. Is there some uncertainty in your mind about that?

Mr. RENO. There is no uncertainty about it. I just placed it very badly.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you there at the time of the demonstration?

Mr. RENO. I was present.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall whether you saw both of the ministers there at that time?

Mr. RENO. I did see them there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Going back a moment to the first occasion when you met them in the office of the headquarters of the Communist Party, do you recall whether there was a third person present?

You have mentioned Leonard Patterson as having been there.

Mr. RENO. Yes. Mary Himoff was present.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mary Himoff. What position did she hold in the Communist Party?

Mr. RENO. Educational director at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. What phase of Communist Party activities did she engage in, other than serving as the educational director?

Mr. RENO. Well, that was her principal function, to take care of the inner party education, that is, the development of discussions and studies of Marxism and Leninism, develop propaganda for mass use, and so on.

Mr. JACKSON. Was Mary Himoff a paid functionary of the party also?

Mr. RENO. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. I did not hear the testimony of Mr. Nowak. So, in asking this question I don't know what he has testified to.

You had an active Communist cell in Baltimore, did you not, in 1935 and 1936?

Mr. RENO. We had several.

Mr. DOYLE. You had several.

Did Reverend Nowak, to your personal knowledge and observation, ever attend a closed meeting of the Communist cell in Baltimore?

Mr. RENO. None that I recall.

Mr. DOYLE. And I ask you the same question about Reverend Hutchison.

Mr. RENO. I don't recall any actual closed meetings where either of them were present.

Mr. DOYLE. That is all.

Mr. CLARDY. Was that because of your advice that they should not become publicly identified with the party?

Mr. RENO. Well, I'm not going to say that. The only thing is they were not in my period assigned to the organization.

Mr. JACKSON. I think the witness has answered the question. To the best of his knowledge, they were not in and he doesn't know why.

Mr. TAVENNER. How well acquainted did you become with the two ministers?

Mr. RENO. Well, with Reverend Nowak I became quite well acquainted. With Rev. Jack Hutchison not so well. We had something of a division of work in those periods. I lived close in the neighborhood where Reverend Nowak had his church and where he lived. As a result, I kept pretty close contact with him. On the other hand, Dr. Albert Blumberg kept closer contact with Reverend Hutchison than I did. His contact was very much closer. I only saw Hutchison on several occasions, as I have already said, where Blumberg must have seen him on a great many occasions.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you were speaking to Reverend Nowak, how did you address him?

Mr. RENO. Well, rather familiarly. I spoke of him as Joe and sometimes Reverend Nowak, and we were comparatively quite friendly.

Mr. TAVENNER. How did he address you normally?

Mr. RENO. I think usually he called me Earl.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the terms under which you and Reverend Hutchison knew each other?

Mr. RENO. Well, the friendship there was not—the acquaintance wasn't as close and the friendship, of course, as such, didn't exist and the meetings were quite formal, that is, in a sense comparatively formal. I don't—

Mr. JACKSON. Formal to the extent—

Mr. RENO. That I wouldn't have called him by his first name, for example, or vice versa.

Mr. SCHERER. What did you call him?

Mr. RENO. I usually referred to him as Reverend Hutchison.

Mr. JACKSON. What did he call you?

Mr. RENO. Frankly, I don't recall. I don't recall that he ever called me any particular name.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did either of the ministers have a conversation with you regarding advisability of becoming a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RENO. Yes. I have discussed this with both of them. I'll try to recall the time and the circumstance.

I think it might have been in 1936, probably in the first half of 1936, when I discussed this particular question with them and advised them at that time not to join, that I didn't feel they should, and the question was not raised again with me, except in the late part of 1936 when Dr. Albert Blumberg raised it, and in that last instance and specifically in relation to Hutchinson and not in relation to Reverend Nowak.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask, in view of the fact that the witness has given an alleged conversation, that he state where it occurred?

Mr. RENO. The conversation I am referring to was in the first half of 1936 in the Communist Party headquarters at the corner of North Franklin and Eutaw.

Mr. DOYLE. And that is the headquarters where you said there was no sign?

Mr. RENO. There were no signs at any of our headquarters.

Mr. DOYLE. Were both of the young ministers there at that one conversation?

Mr. SCHERER. He said Dr. Blumberg was at this one.

Mr. DOYLE. No.

Mr. RENO. No. That is later. Both ministers were present at that time.

Mr. DOYLE. You and they and no one else?

Mr. RENO. That is all I can recall; yes.

Mr. DOYLE. That is all.

Mr. CLARDY. May I inquire, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. JACKSON. Just one minute.

Mr. SCHERER. Pardon me, Mr. Chairman. The question was asked by counsel with reference to the conversation with Dr. Blumberg and he hadn't finished that conversation with Dr. Blumberg.

Mr. RENO. That was later in the year.

Mr. DOYLE. I submit the question was whether or not he had any conversation with these young preachers and the witness answered that, and then he volunteered the statement that he had had a con-

versation with Blumberg, which in any court would have been stricken out as not responsive.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you have a question pending, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. I am not sure that the witness completed his answer. I was going to ask him as to the place where this occurred.

Mr. RENO. I just said—

Mr. TAVENNER. And that has been answered.

Mr. RENO. That meeting, I said, was at North Eutaw and Franklin Streets, on the second floor.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, I will ask the question, then: You started to tell us about a conversation with Dr. Blumberg. When and where did that conversation take place?

Mr. RENO. That took place in the same place, North Eutaw and Franklin Streets, in the Communist Party office, and that was in the last part of 1936. It would have been as late as September or October.

Mr. SCHERER. What was the substance of that conversation?

Mr. RENO. Blumberg had specifically come in to discuss the possibility of recruiting the ministers to the Communist Party, and I said it was ridiculous, and as long as I was there I would not accept an application, and that is the essence of the discussion, and that was the purpose of the discussion.

Mr. DOYLE. Now, Mr. Chairman, may I ask again whether or not either of the young preachers were present at this conversation between Mr. Reno and Blumberg?

Mr. RENO. Not at that conversation; no.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. CLARDY. Pardon me. I have one question I would like to interpose.

Mr. JACKSON. I would like to get through this particular phase of the questioning, if there is no objection, in order that we can wind up the morning.

Mr. CLARDY. All right. I just wanted to know something I thought I could fit in there.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Just one further question at this particular time: Did you have any discussion with either of the ministers at a later occasion about their joining the Communist Party?

Mr. RENO. Not later than I have already said.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all I have at the present.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well. The committee will stand in recess until 2 p. m. this afternoon.

(Thereupon, at 12:10 p. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 2 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(At the hour of 2:07 p. m. of the same day, the proceedings were resumed, Representatives Donald L. Jackson, Bernard W. Kearney (appearance noted in transcript), Gordon L. Scherer, Francis E. Walter (appearance noted in transcript), and Clyde Doyle (appearance noted in transcript) being present.)

Mr. JACKSON. The committee will be in order.

Mr. Reno, please take the stand again.

TESTIMONY OF EARL C. RENO—Resumed

Mr. JACKSON. Continue, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Reno, you told the committee that you were present at the time of the demonstration upon the docking of the German battleship *Emden*.

Mr. RENO. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that you observed both of the ministers at that demonstration.

Mr. RENO. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee a little more in detail what the demonstration consisted of?

Mr. RENO. We had called for the demonstration—I want to qualify that—the demonstration had been called by the American League Against War and Fascism. In preparation for the demonstration they had prepared a sound truck, that is, a truck with sound equipment, amplifiers, and so on, for the speakers. This truck was pulled up near the recreation pier in Baltimore and the speakers sat on that truck in the sense of a platform to speak from.

(Representative Francis E. Walter entered the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. RENO. The number of people that came probably was around 2,000 or 2,500.

And the demonstration was principally that kind of a preparation and that kind of a demonstration. The speaker spoke from the sound truck and denounced the reception for the battleship *Emden* and generally a denunciation of fascism.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you see the two ministers—

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Counsel, will you suspend? There is entirely too much disturbance in the room. If there is any further moving, let us wait until after the committee has recessed. Will the police officers out there please close the door. It is difficult at best to hear in this room and the assistance of everyone in the room is requested to the end that we can get through this matter as expeditiously as possible and with some idea of what has been going on.

Continue, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you see the two ministers during that period?

Mr. RENO. Speaking from the platform of the sound truck.

Mr. TAVENNER. Both of them were on the sound truck?

Mr. RENO. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is, Reverend Nowak and Reverend Hutchison.

Mr. RENO. Reverend Hutchison.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did the Communist Party take in Baltimore with reference to the Spanish civil war?

Mr. RENO. Well, the Spanish civil war, of course, assumed tremendous proportions to the Communist Party nationally, and the Communist Party in Baltimore aroused all of its people in whatever field they were working to intensify the work in the defense of the Spanish Republicans. More than that, the Communist Party actively recruited for the International Brigade for service in Spain.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many persons were recruited from the area with which you were charged as organizer.

Mr. RENO. At the time of the recruiting for the International Brigade, I was in Baltimore in the beginning. Later, when I went to Detroit, they were still recruiting for Spain. I would say from Baltimore we sent approximately 35 people, principally recruited from among seamen.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were the efforts made by the Communist Party in organizing support for the Spanish Republicans handled through one of the organizations which you have already testified about?

Mr. RENO. Well, the American League Against War and Fascism, through our fraction in there, we had developed the policy that they were to center their main activity around the defense of the Spanish Republic.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you confer at any time with Reverend Nowak or Reverend Hutchison regarding the activities in behalf of the Spanish Republicans, and if so, where did your conference take place?

Mr. RENO. Well, I believe—at this moment, frankly, I would not want to say “yes” to that. I would not answer that “yes” because it is slightly hazy, and I would have to say “I believe,” so I would rather say that I do not recall at this moment a specific discussion with them on that particular point.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know the churches to which these ministers were assigned in Baltimore?

Mr. RENO. Well, I do not recall the specific names at this moment. Reverend Nowak was in a church in the area of East Baltimore Street and Broadway. I believe one of the churches that he did some work in was the Broadway Methodist Church. However, I think his main work was in another church, the name of which I do not recall.

Reverend Hutchison, however, was on the other side of the city, I believe in the northwest section. I do not recall the specific name of that church, either, at the moment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at any time attend either of those churches while the services were being conducted or any meeting was being conducted by either of the ministers?

Mr. RENO. I have been in both of those churches. I think I went to a New Year's Eve sort of church party at Reverend Nowak's church. I have attended what I think would have been his forum class. I have been at Reverend Hutchison's church on one occasion that I recall definitely, and possibly more times. However, there is one occasion that I recall specifically. I do not recall whether that was a regular church sermon or whether, again, that might have been in the sense of a forum or class, but I remember being in the church when Reverend Hutchison was speaking.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did either of the ministers know at the time that you were in attendance at church there?

Mr. RENO. Well, Reverend Nowak knew definitely I was present, and I think Reverend Hutchison, too, knew that I was present.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are not certain in the case of Reverend Hutchison?

Mr. RENO. At this moment I am not going to say that I am definitely sure that Reverend Hutchison knew that I was present.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is a little unusual to find a Communist Party organizer attending religious services. Will you explain how it occurred that you attended the churches?

Mr. RENO. I was very interested in these churches because of the specific ministers preaching in them. Since there had been a closeness of activity with these ministers, I was interested in attending their churches to see what kind of a church service they conducted.

(Representative Clyde Doyle entered the hearing room at this time.)

Mr. RENO. It was also true that I felt it would be possible, by attending these churches, to become a little better acquainted with the congregation, and in this sense, be sort of accepted by them.

You are quite right, I normally would not have attended church services.

Mr. JACKSON. I assume that during the period of time in question you shared the general Communist philosophy respecting a Supreme Being and spiritual values.

Mr. RENO. I would say yes.

Mr. JACKSON. And, of course, that consists of nothing at all.

Mr. RENO. That is more or less the position of an atheist.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give the committee any additional facts regarding the activities of either or both of the ministers in connection with work in which the Communist Party was engaged?

Mr. RENO. Well, they spoke at several mass meetings, principally under the auspices of the American League Against War and Fascism. I described one previously that was held at the corner of Orwin and East Baltimore Street. I recall another that was held in the northwest section of Baltimore in a rather compact Jewish neighborhood. That would have been in the early fall or summer of 1936, specifically the demonstration around the battleship *Emden*, and these are the principal activities that I recall. More than that at the moment I do not think I can recall. It was principally speaking at mass meetings. Under the auspices of the American League Against War and Fascism.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee during the course of its various investigations has received evidence about Communist Party activities at Johns Hopkins University. Were you familiar with Communist Party activities there?

Mr. RENO. Well, we had a YCL, Young Communist League, unit there, composed mostly of postgraduate students. Dr. Albert Blumberg was instructor in the department of philosophy of the section committee of the Communist Party in Baltimore. I have forgotten the name of the person who was instructor in French, who was also a member of the Communist Party in Baltimore. Evelyn Howard, who was in charge of the physiology department of the medical school, was a member of the Communist Party. Those are the people I can specifically recall at this moment.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mentioned the name of Howard earlier in your testimony.

Mr. RENO. That was in relation to the boy that worked in the Eastern Rolling Mill.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is a different person, of course.

Mr. RENO. Well, there is a relationship. When he first came to Baltimore, his name was Silvers. Under the instruction of Leonard Patterson, who was Young Communist League organizer, he adopted

the name of Smith or Smitty. At a later date he was married to Evelyn Howard and adopted the name of Mike Howard.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you tell the committee anything more with regard to the Communist Party activities of Evelyn Howard?

Mr. RENO. Her activities were not too extensive, principally keeping contact with some of the people in the medical school and the hospital at Johns Hopkins who could be induced for one reason or another to make contributions, for example, to the American League Against War and Fascism or to some such cause. She was used in the summer of 1936 in Cumberland, together with Mike Howard or Smith or Smitty or Silvers, and Tom Pinkerton, for the purpose of organizing a Communist Party section out there, and spent a number of weeks out there in that particular activity. Other than that she had not too much activity.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did either of the ministers, Reverend Nowak or Reverend Hutchison, have any connection with Communist Party activities to your knowledge at Johns Hopkins?

Mr. RENO. Not to my knowledge. The one incident, the student strike of 1936, I believe Reverend Hutchison spoke at on the campus at Johns Hopkins. That is just a recollection, and I cannot be too convincing about that.

Mr. JACKSON. Well, was that a strike directed by the Communist Party? Wasn't that a Communist Party activity?

Mr. RENO. The Young Communist League members at Johns Hopkins were the driving force in the development of that student strike.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether that strike had any relationship to the demonstration against the battleship *Emden*?

Mr. RENO. No; it was called for an entirely different purpose.

Mr. SCHERER. What was that purpose?

Mr. RENO. It was a general antiwar, peace demonstration and was tied with anti-Fascist demonstration, too, but not specifically tied to the battleship *Emden*, as I recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have a discussion at any time with either or both of the ministers, Reverend Nowak and Reverend Hutchison, regarding activity that they should engage in in bringing other ministers into cooperation in any of the organizational work of the American League Against War and Fascism?

Mr. RENO. In the period when we first discussed that they should work in the American League Against War and Fascism, it was discussed at that time that they would be the ideal people for contacting ministers and so on, to bring them into the American League Against War and Fascism activity.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you leave the city of Baltimore?

Mr. RENO. At the end of 1936.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the reason for your leaving?

Mr. RENO. I was transferred back to the Detroit or the Michigan district of the Communist Party because that was the period of the sitdown strikes. The sitdown strikes had begun in Flint, Mich., at that time and, due to the fact that I had spent a number of years in the Communist Party in Michigan, the national committee felt I was needed in Michigan for that reason, because of my familiarity with the auto industry, with the automobile union, and with the Communist Party in Michigan.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have told the committee about your other numerous assignments as a Communist Party organizer, culminating finally into your being State chairman, I believe, of the State of Indiana.

Mr. RENO. State chairman and district secretary of Michigan in 1938.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that your last assignment in the Communist Party?

Mr. RENO. In Indiana was my last assignment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where you became the head of the State organization of the Communist Party?

Mr. RENO. More or less. I was one of the three heads of the organization. I was specifically assigned to Gary, Ind., but also held the position of State chairman, but not State secretary. The State secretary was Phil Bart, who lived in Indianapolis.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the date when you held that position?

Mr. RENO. I went to Gary in April 1940, and that was the time that I assumed that post.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you leave the Communist Party?

Mr. RENO. About April or May, May 1942.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, the circumstances under which you withdrew from the Communist Party?

Mr. RENO. Well, it was a process actually covering a number of years, actually 3 years, in which I began to feel either that I was an alien in the Communist Party or that the Communist Party was alien to the things I had started out to achieve. The thing that brought it into sharpest focus in my mind was the Russian-German pact of 1939. I had begun to feel at that time that my national spirit was rising, and my individualism was rising. I began to feel that the Communist Party was not by any means the thing I had started out thinking it was; it had proven itself to be an instrument of the Soviet Union rather than achieving the needs and aims of the American people, and when such a thing as the German-Russian pact occurs, where you feel that naziism is a genuine world danger, and this merely preserves the Soviet Union from an attack, unless the world faces the attack, then you begin to ask a lot of questions.

This developed in my mind until in 1942 it was impossible for me to stay any longer because I just no longer agreed with the principal program nor aims, and I left.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you go through the formality of resigning or notifying anyone of your withdrawal from the Communist Party?

Mr. RENO. I did not resign. I notified the district secretary of the Chicago district, Morris Childs, that I was leaving, and I just left. That is just about the sum of it.

Mr. TAVENNER. We have found in many instances where that has occurred, when the Communist Party then takes action expelling an individual.

Mr. RENO. That is right, and that occurred in my case, too. A few months later, approximately 6 months later, when I did not return, I did not issue any statements. I was expelled from the Communist Party by action of the Illinois district, on the basis of desertion of post, and frankly I do not know what other charges they may have placed, but principally that was it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was any effort made to bring you back into the party before the act of discharging you from the party, expelling you?

Mr. RENO. I had been notified that if I would return and make a statement, I would be taken back, but I paid no attention to the request or the notification.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the source of that notification?

Mr. RENO. That came from the Chicago district. It came to me from the Chicago district, officially from the district committee of the Illinois district.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you engaged in any Communist Party activities since 1942?

Mr. RENO. No, I have not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Your break with the party then was full and complete, as I understand, and final.

Mr. RENO. And final. I have had discussions with some of the Communist Party people as late as 1945, but not in the sense of being active. I was questioned at that time as to my attitude, and if I had considered coming back. This was the occasion of the discussion with Gilbert Green in New York, but at that time I told him, as I said before, there was nothing in common, I have no intention of coming back. There is nothing that I could come back to.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I believe that is all I desire to ask of the witness.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. Have your appearances before the Un-American Activities Committee been your first appearances before any congressional committee?

Mr. RENO. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. That is, your appearances in connection with the matters you have just testified about?

Mr. RENO. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no further questions.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Walter.

Mr. WALTER. I have no questions.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle, would you care to ask any questions?

Mr. DOYLE. I have a couple of questions.

How long have you been employed by the United States Department of Immigration?

Mr. RENO. 3 months.

Mr. DOYLE. I am interested in your testimony about the Young Communist League in Baltimore. Were you in touch with what the Young Communist League was doing nationally or in areas other than in Baltimore? Was it a nationwide movement at that time?

Mr. RENO. It was a nationwide movement.

Mr. DOYLE. How was it financed?

Mr. RENO. The same as the Communist Party, through contributions, social affairs that were organized for the purpose of raising money, and so on.

Mr. DOYLE. How did they pick the leaders of the Young Communist League units over the country? Where was their source of supply?

Mr. RENO. You mean of people for leadership?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes, the Young Communist League leaders.

Mr. RENO. In a very large sense, district or section leaders were usually sent out from New York. Sometimes they were local people who were put in the position of district organizers and so on, but generally they were sent out from New York.

Mr. DOYLE. When you say from New York, you mean from the national Communist headquarters?

Mr. RENO. National Committee of the Communist Party; yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Paid for by the national committee?

Mr. RENO. Usually paid for by the districts in which they worked.

Mr. DOYLE. Have you any suggestion to this committee as to what we should do, if anything, in addition to what we are doing?

That is one question. Right alongside of that, have you any suggestion that we are doing anything we should not do as a congressional committee?

Mr. RENO. I have had some experience with the House Un-American Activities Committee, and I have been impressed with the extent of research, and, in my opinion, quite honest research, into the activities of communism in the United States and the efforts to combat it. I have no suggestions to make at this time. There are some things in my mind that I think might be done, but I would like time to formulate that, and I would be glad, if I can put the things into organized form, to submit it to the committee; that is, some additional things that I think might be done.

Mr. DOYLE. I am sure the committee will be glad to receive them. That is why I asked you if you had any such opinion.

I asked you this morning if you could give us an approximate break-off date or termination date when, in your judgment, the attitude of the people generally, American people generally, to your knowledge or your appraisal, changed toward the Communist Party, and Chairman Jackson suggested that it might have been the time of the first prosecution under the Smith Act.

Mr. JACKSON. No; may I correct that? My intent was to point out that the attitude of the functionaries in preserving their secrecy or going underground dated from that rather than the change in public opinion.

Mr. RENO. I would like to say in relation to this particular question, there never was a time when the Communist Party did not prepare for underground activity. It has always been true, where they have put printing machinery and so on in hiding places in the event that the Communist Party would have to work on a strictly underground basis. Tactics of working in an underground condition have always been taught. Always there has been a certain semiseclusion of party leaders who live by themselves, quite often using aliases at their residences so they cannot be picked up quickly. But the exact date when they transformed to this semiunderground condition at the present time when it began to be a hidden leadership, that would date probably starting around 1950.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this then, and you anticipated my next question some, which is this: Up until 1942 when you withdrew from the Communist Party in April or May, I believe you said, that year, at which time you said you had come to no longer agree with their program and principle in April or May of 1942, up until that time, to your personal knowledge, was the Communist Party in America, in the

United States, at least secretly advocating the use of force and violence, force and revolution?

Mr. RENO. I do not think the fundamental position of the Communist Party ever changed. I think that starting about 1938, when they began to formulate the public declaration that the Communist Party is not a party of force and violence, was the result of public reaction to the program advanced up to that time. I think if you read all of the party literature you will find that the avowed purpose has always been the same, and it is no new trick for the Communist Party to shift the way it says a thing to fit the public mood, but continuing along the same line all the time.

Mr. DOYLE. Assuming that you, since you withdrew, have been observing and naturally were interested in what the Communist Party program was, even though you were not in it since 1942, have you seen any publicity or known of any declaration, official declaration by the Communist Party which in your judgment has gone contrary to their established policy so far as the use of force and violence was concerned while you were in the party? In other words, have they changed that as far as you know?

Mr. RENO. I have not seen anything that would indicate that the basic tactics and program of the Communist Party are changed.

Mr. DOYLE. I think that is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you.

Mr. RENO, assuming that the program which you headed up in Baltimore and which was related to and a reflection of the national program of the Communist Party, assume that that program had ever achieved fruition, had ever come into being, what would have happened to the church in America?

Mr. RENO. The church would have suffered the same treatment that the church in the Soviet Union has suffered. It would have been subjected to a campaign that would eventually have led to its complete liquidation.

Mr. JACKSON. In your opinion there can be no freedom of religious faith or freedom of religious worship under the Communist system?

Mr. RENO. I think if you read a little of the Marxist philosophy, you will find that Marx, who is the father of communism, said that religion is the opiate of the people; it has nothing in common with communism.

Mr. JACKSON. Lenin also said, "Down with religion. The spread of atheism must be our chief task"; is that correct?

Mr. RENO. That is correct.

Mr. JACKSON. Any further questions?

Mr. WALTER. I have often wondered whether or not you ex-Communists were still Communists, spelled with a small "c."

Mr. RENO. Well, I think I understand your question. I can speak for myself. I cannot speak for all ex-Communists. I think every ex-Communist had a reason for leaving. I would not want to try to explain the reason that every ex-Communist left the Communist Party, not to mention the fact that some have left officially. But I think that most people who went in in a period when they had certain ideals—that there were inequalities in society, injustices, probably feel as I do—the Communist Party is not the answer to it, but there are certain inequities, certain injustices that need correction, but I

think they feel as I do, a great many social changes have taken place, tremendous improvement in social life in America, and I think continuing as we did for the last five generations, America will solve its social problems, and we do not have to be a satellite of the Soviet Union to do it, and I do not think we must have to have a revolution here to do it, either.

I think when we have social security, old-age benefits, a great many of these things, America is answering its social problems. That is maybe a little bit slowly, maybe even too slowly to satisfy what I would like, but, nevertheless, if I am going to achieve them, I am going to achieve them—let me say, I do not want to sound too patriotic; I am not going to wave a flag—but I will try solving them the American way. I think a great many ex-Communists feel that way.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask one more question, Mr. Chairman? When you were a high functionary in the Communist Party, did you adapt yourself and act in accordance with their program which was revolution by force and violence, if and when necessary?

Mr. RENO. Oh, yes. You see, this is a subject all by itself that probably would make a good book. A great many people start out as I started. You have certain ideals: you have neighbors who are suffering; you have certain human sympathies. Little by little you find that you as a person are changing. You find you are batting up against certain things that are a little bit revolting from time to time, and then you go through a process of rationalizing, adjusting—"Well, maybe this is necessary for the purpose of achieving my ultimate"—the thing that I want, and little by little you become part and parcel. You agree.

I do not want to make any error about this. In the height of my activities I was in full agreement. It is this thing that you reach. I think one of the things that drove me out was the fact that you sit and look back in retrospect and you think, "I am not the person I was 10 years ago or 12 years ago. I am not achieving the things I was looking for 10 or 12 years ago. I wonder what has happened."

Then when you begin to examine from that viewpoint, you begin to see things in an entirely different light.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this question: In your personal knowledge, if you have such personal knowledge, what percent or proportion of the leaders of the Communist Party in America in 1935 and 1936, when you were a luminary in it, and up until 1942 when you were still in it, until April or May of 1942, what portion of the Communist Party luminaries in your rank, or even less high than you, also advocated forceful, violent revolution and overthrow of the constitutional government?

Mr. RENO. I think all of them did, or they would not have been in. If they were in disagreement with the fundamental policy of the Communist Party, they would have been expelled.

Mr. DOYLE. I notice in your testimony that you were not hungry. You were employed.

Mr. RENO. I was employed at that time, yes.

Mr. DOYLE. At the time you went into the Communist Party.

Mr. RENO. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. That the men all around you were hungry and unemployed.

Mr. RENO. My entire neighborhood was in rather dire distress, yes.

Mr. DOYLE. I just cannot understand, under those conditions, how a man with your maturity would go in and stay in from 1935 until 1942 in a movement that you now state was advocating the forceful and violent overthrow of our form of government. I just cannot understand it.

Mr. RENO. Possibly at this time I do not myself.

Mr. JACKSON. I might say for the record that a number of people in much better financial circumstances than you were at that time went into the Communist Party, and we had several out in Hollywood who went in, making \$2,000 to \$3,000 a week, so the economic aspect of it is not the only consideration. Are there any further questions?

Mr. WALTER. No.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Reno, on behalf of the committee, may I express our thanks for your full cooperation since the outset of this investigation.

If there is any more material which you find later is available to you, we will appreciate it very much if you will furnish it to the committee.

I think that your testimony has added a considerable amount to the sum total of the knowledge of the committee relative to the object, the nature, and the extent of Communist efforts to infiltrate into the institutions of this country, and with the thanks of the committee you are excused.

(Whereupon the witness was excused and the subcommittee proceeded to hear the testimony of additional witnesses on the same subject which is printed in Part 3 of this title.)

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Part 3*

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE
BALTIMORE AREA—Part 3

*U. S. Congress House Committee on
Un-American Activities*

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

MARCH 25 AND 26, 1954

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 83D CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1953

* * * * *

STANDING COMMITTEES

RULE X

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress, the following standing committees:

* * * * *

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

* * * * *

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

RULE XI

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American Activities.

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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE BALTIMORE AREA—Part 3

THURSDAY, MARCH 25, 1954

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE
ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10:29 a. m., in the caucus room, 362 Old House Office Building, Hon. Donald L. Jackson presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Donald L. Jackson (acting chairman), Kit Clardy, Gordon H. Scherer, Francis E. Walter (appearance noted in transcript), and Clyde Doyle (appearance noted in transcript).

Staff members present: Robert L. Kunzig, counsel; Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., chief clerk; Raphael I. Nixon, director of research; and George E. Cooper, investigator.

(Following preliminary statement made by the subcommittee and the testimony of Earl C. Reno, both of which are printed in part 2, under this title, the subcommittee continued with interrogation of additional witnesses:)

Mr. JACKSON. Who is your next witness?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Leonard Patterson, will you come forward, please?

TESTIMONY OF LEONARD PATTERSON

Mr. JACKSON. Raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear in the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. PATTERSON. I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

Mr. PATTERSON. Leonard Patterson, two t's in Patterson.

Mr. TAVENNER. I note that you are not accompanied by counsel.

Mr. PATTERSON. No; I do not think I need any.

Mr. TAVENNER. If you decide you desire to consult counsel, you will have that privilege.

Mr. PATTERSON. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Patterson?

Mr. PATTERSON. I was born February 6, 1906, State of North Carolina, county of Wayne.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. PATTERSON. Jamaica, New York City.

Mr. TAVENNER. How are you presently employed?

Mr. PATTERSON. I am employed by the Bethlehem shipyard as a rigger and also as a taxi driver. When one is not busy, I work with the other one.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Young Communist League?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you become a member of the Young Communist League?

Mr. PATTERSON. In the fall of the year of 1928.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you join the Communist Party?

Mr. PATTERSON. In the early part of the summer, latter part of the spring, in 1930.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Young Communist League, or, rather, the Communist Party?

Mr. PATTERSON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you leave the Communist Party?

Mr. PATTERSON. In the summer of 1937, I believe in August. It could have been September.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, the circumstances under which you first became a member of the party, or rather, I should say, the Young Communist League?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes. I secured a job as a bootblack in the district headquarters of the Communist Party of the New York district at 26 Union Square, and for about 3 months the district leaders, the national leaders, and everyone was trying to make me a Communist, and I did not want to be a Communist. So they made a bet with me, if I would take a course in the Workers' School, that when I completed that course, I would join the Communist Party or the Young Communist League, so I had taken up the bet, and before I finished the course I had joined the Young Communist League.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever attain a position of prominence in the Young Communist League such as occupying a high position as a functionary?

Mr. PATTERSON. Well, I held almost all leading positions in the Young Communist League except its executive secretary.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what the major positions are which you have held in the Young Communist League?

Mr. PATTERSON. Well, I was——

Mr. TAVENNER. And the dates and the places.

Mr. PATTERSON. As near as I can, I will. In 1929, the spring, the year I was elected as a delegate to the district convention of the Young Communist League; however, at that time the name was the Young Workers Communist League. I attended the district convention and I was elected a member of the district committee of the Young Communist League, New York City district.

Mr. TAVENNER. New York district?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes. At that district convention I was elected a delegate to the national convention of the Young Communist League that was held in the spring of 1929—in fact, it was the same time as the Gastonia strike was going on in North Carolina. At that convention I was elected a member of the national executive committee

of the Young Communist League and was reelected at every convention and remained a member of the national committee until 1935 at the time I went into the Communist Party for exclusive Communist Party work.

In 1931 in Philadelphia, from about March until August, I was district organizer of the Young Communist League, and 1934 I was organizer for the Young Communist League for the Maryland-District of Columbia area. I was national representative of the Young Communist League in the Birmingham, Ala., district, Detroit district, Cleveland district, Connecticut district, and the Philadelphia district, and the Pittsburgh district, and I held positions in the Young Communist League as national chairman of the Young Communist League Negro commission.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the Negro commission of the Young Communist League?

Mr. PATTERSON. It was a special body, a subcommittee of the national committee of the Young Communist League to deal specifically with issues concerning the Negro youth, and in 1933 I was also national fraction secretary of the unemployed councils and also was national youth organizer for the homeless youth at the same time.

Those are the main or major positions I held in the Young Communist League.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you ever selected for training, Communist Party training, in the Soviet Union?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you go to Moscow, and how long were you there?

Mr. PATTERSON. I landed in Moscow in September 1931, and I remained there until September 1932.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have told us you were district organizer of the Communist Party in Maryland and the District of Columbia in 1934.

Mr. PATTERSON. The Young Communist League.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of the Young Communist League. How long did you remain on that assignment?

Mr. PATTERSON. Until around September 1935.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what you sought to accomplish for the Young Communist League in Baltimore during that period?

Mr. PATTERSON. To organize the Young Communist League in the basic industries in Baltimore and the colleges, universities, National Guard, Army, the fleet, the merchant ships, and among the long-shoremen and every key enterprise in the city of Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee briefly what the activities of the Young Communist League were, what they actually accomplished in Baltimore during the period between 1934 and September 1935.

Mr. PATTERSON. Well, specifically, I succeeded in organizing committees against war and fascism on ships sailing out of Baltimore, specifically the *Oakmoor* and the *Massmoor*.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell those names?

Mr. PATTERSON. I do not know if I can spell them myself or not. I was successful in organizing those committees. In fact, when I say "I," I am speaking of the Young Communist League at that

time. I was successful in organizing groups of young seamen into Young Communist League nuclei, small groups on ships here in the port of Baltimore. We were successful in organizing and preparing Young Communist League members for distribution squads for the distribution of Communist literature and other anti-Fascist literature into the National Guard and into Camp Meade, Md. It was my specific duty then to prepare and train certain individuals for this task, turn them over to Stanley Bloomberg, and from then on, he would work with the secret committee and carry that through. I was organizing the Young Communist League members in the National Students League, organized them into groups in the universities, like the Johns Hopkins University and the University of Maryland and other schools and colleges in the city of Baltimore and would prepare them for certain activities, such as strikes against war and fascism, for academic freedom, and also to prepare them to involve the organization of the employees of the university and involve them in any activities that would be developed on the campus.

Then mass meetings, open-air meetings, organization of defense committee for Ethiopia, organization of delegates for the Youth Congress to Detroit, and generally to participate in the campaigns of the Communist Party and to support the Communist Party in all of its campaigns.

MR. TAVENNER. What was your connection with this group that was known as the Ethiopian Defense Committee?

MR. PATTERSON. I was the one responsible to the Communist Party for this committee. I was responsible to organize it, to supervise it, to see to it that the party line, party policy, the party tactics, the party strategy, was carried out in this committee.

MR. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee whether or not you received the assistance in that work of two ministers who had recently come to Baltimore from the Union Theological Seminary in New York?

MR. PATTERSON. Yes, I will.

In 1935, I believe it was in the month of August—it could have been July, but to my best recollection it was August—Earl Reno assigned me to organize a defense committee for the defense of Ethiopia and to create a mass movement of people in Baltimore, and his instruction was to penetrate the churches, the YMCA's, and trade unions, different societies, and involve mass indignation of the Negro people in Baltimore for the defense of Ethiopia, but he warned me to realize one thing, that the Communist Party must control this and the line of the Communist Party must be carried out.

So I asked him for forces. As head of the Young Communist League, I had my own headaches. So he said that would have to be discussed, and 2 individuals came into the Communist Party office, 2 ministers, one by the name of Rev. Joe Nowak, and one by the name of Rev. Jack Hutchison.

MR. TAVENNER. Let me stop you there just a moment. When you first told the committee about the connection of the two ministers with the work of this group in Baltimore, you were unable to recall their names. Is that not correct?

MR. PATTERSON. That is right.

MR. TAVENNER. Were you here in the hearing room on last Thursday, March 18, when Dr. John A. Hutchison testified here?

Mr. PATTERSON. I was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you in the corridors of the building here adjacent to this room?

Mr. PATTERSON. I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you see Reverend Hutchison in the hearing room?

Mr. PATTERSON. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you see him on the witness stand? Did you see him occupying the witness chair?

Mr. PATTERSON. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he the same person to whom you are now referring as one of the young ministers who came into the Communist Party headquarters in Baltimore?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Some time in 1935?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. There is no question in your mind as to this important fact, is there?

Mr. PATTERSON. Absolutely none.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. How are you able now to identify the name of the other minister as Reverend Nowak?

Mr. PATTERSON. I have spoken with Reverend Nowak. I saw him here today. I talked with him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is there any doubt in your mind as to whether or not he was the second of the two ministers to whom you referred?

Mr. PATTERSON. Absolutely none.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, I interrupted you. You say two ministers came into Communist Party headquarters in Baltimore?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you fix the time as nearly as you can?

Mr. PATTERSON. Well, the time I fixed before was the nearest I can come to it. It was, I would say, in the afternoon. It was approximately August—July. It was almost immediately after the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. It was around that period.

Mr. TAVENNER. In 1935?

Mr. PATTERSON. 1935. I am definite about the year.

Mr. TAVENNER. After you had been assigned the job of organizing the Ethiopian Defense Committee?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were present in the Communist Party headquarters on that occasion besides the two ministers?

Mr. PATTERSON. Earl Reno.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that the name used by Mr. Reno at that time?

Mr. PATTERSON. No, it was Earl Dixon. However, I had known him also by Earl Reno.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was any other person present?

Mr. PATTERSON. Mary Himoff.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did Mary Himoff hold in the Communist Party?

Mr. PATTERSON. She was a member of the Baltimore committee of the Communist Party, the leading committee of the Communist Party in Baltimore, and she was the educational director for the Communist Party of Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, she was also a high functionary in the Communist Party in Baltimore?

Mr. PATTERSON. I would say she was; in fact, I know she was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, will you tell the committee, please, just what occurred at the time the two young ministers came into the Communist Party headquarters, as far as you can recall?

Mr. PATTERSON. Well, there was a conversation with Earl Dixon and Mary Himoff. I was not sitting right together with them in this conversation, and I do not know specifically what was discussed. I did hear the name of the party mentioned, but after discussion was over, Mary Himoff said to me, "You want forces? Here's two ministers. Take them and put them on your Ethiopian Defense Committee."

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, were you introduced to the two ministers at that time?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes; Mary Himoff introduced me to them.

Mr. TAVENNER. To both of them?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then what occurred?

Mr. PATTERSON. Well, I believe—I do not know exactly when it was—maybe the next day or a couple of days after, Reverend Hutchison and Reverend Nowak reported to me at my headquarters of the Ethiopian Defense Committee that was located in the vicinity of 10th—1100 block on Pennsylvania Avenue on the right-hand side going north. It was a store front.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you an open member of the Communist Party in Baltimore at that time, or was your identity known?

Mr. PATTERSON. I was very well known. I was an open member of the Communist Party and a member of the section committee, was district organizer for the Young Communist League.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you explain on the occasion of the next meeting; that is, the meeting on 1 or 2 days after you first met them, as to what work these 2 ministers should do in the Ethiopian Defense Committee work?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes, I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee just what conversation took place there, as nearly as you can?

Mr. PATTERSON. I explained to both of them—and I am referring to them, I mean both Reverend Hutchison and Reverend Nowak—that this Ethiopian Defense Committee wanted to reach out into the churches, particularly Negro churches, and we wanted to make this a broad committee, not just inter-Communist Party, Young Communist League membership, but a committee that would reach people that the Communist Party could not reach otherwise, and that this—

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you certain that you mentioned to them the name of the Communist Party reaching other people?

Mr. PATTERSON. I am positive of what I just said, that we wanted to reach people that the Communist Party could not reach otherwise.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you positive that that was said to these two ministers?

Mr. PATTERSON. I am absolutely positive. I said even more than that, if you will let me finish.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right, proceed.

Mr. PATTERSON. And said, in fact, I have taken these two ministers as Communist Party members.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why did you do that?

Mr. PATTERSON. Because I was given them to work with when I asked for forces by Mary Himoff who was a member of the section committee of the Communist Party, and I did not take them as strangers. I took them as Communist Party members, and I discussed the party policy with them, and that I am trying to explain to you now.

I explained to them by bringing in certain ministers and doctors to sign a sponsoring call that we would get out and that we would send the ministers and other non-Communist Party members to cover the various churches and speak and ask for affiliations to this committee; it could be done, and that the Communist Party members, the Young Communist League members, would take similar steps to penetrate the trade unions and other organizations in Baltimore to bring them into this committee, and that we would try—we would use the International Workers' Order, the Italian branch that was close to the Communist Party, to penetrate the Italian branch of the International Workers' Order and the Italian people, that we would organize mass meetings in the Italian neighborhoods in regards to this issue, defense of Ethiopia.

Then the two ministers told me, both Reverend Nowak and Reverend Hutchison, and they can cross me if they want to—I stand open for it—in fact, they smiled and said, "We know all about that," that "We were well schooled in Marxism, Leninism while we were in the Union Theological Seminary," that Professor Ward had taught them all of that, and during our discussions from then on I found out they were pretty well equipped with Marxism and Leninism and understood the Communist Party line. In fact, I had no trouble whatsoever in convincing them or forcing them to pursue the Communist Party line.

After a few meetings Comrade Hutchison was taken away from my committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. You do not mean Comrade Hutchison—

Mr. PATTERSON. I mean Reverend Hutchison. He was taken away from my committee. Mary Himoff called me and told me, "I will leave Reverend Nowak with you, but we have to take Reverend Hutchison and assign him to the [American] League Against War and Fascism, and he will work with Swerdloff."

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was Swerdloff?

Mr. PATTERSON. Swerdloff was a member of the Communist Party in Baltimore assigned by the section committee of the Communist Party to be head of the [American] League Against War and Fascism in Baltimore. He was head of the Communist Party fraction of the [American] League Against War and Fascism, and I believe he was the executive secretary of the Baltimore chapter of the [American] League Against War and Fascism.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you seen him here today?

Mr. PATTERSON. I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the character of the work done by the two ministers in helping you with the work of the Ethiopian Defense Committee, if you know?

Mr. PATTERSON. Well, I do not remember just now. I know Reverend Nowak worked with me longer than Reverend Hutchison did. I think about all he did was attend meetings of my committee.

Now, whether or not I gave Reverend Hutchison any assignments to visit churches or speak at different meetings or so, I do not—I mean Reverend Nowak—I do not remember at the present time. At the time that they were on my committee, became on my committee, it was more or less in the initial stage, and I only wanted them mostly to give non-Communist color to the committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say that you met these two ministers in August of 1935. Did you say that you left the Baltimore area in September 1935?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes; I was on my way out at the time I met them.

Mr. TAVENNER. So then it was only for the period of about 1 month that you were acquainted with them?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever have occasion to meet them after that in Baltimore?

Mr. PATTERSON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you see either of the ministers at the Communist Party headquarters in Baltimore at any time after the occasion when you met them, first met them there?

Mr. PATTERSON. I do not remember whether I did or not.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the reason for your leaving Baltimore?

Mr. PATTERSON. For an assignment by the Communist Party in Philadelphia.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you say that you withdrew from the Communist Party?

Mr. PATTERSON. In the summer of 1937.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your reason for leaving the Communist Party after the year of extreme activity that you had engaged in?

Mr. PATTERSON. I was finally convinced that the Communist Party was no place for me, that the Communist Party was not sincere as a protector of American labor, that it did not champion the cause of the American people, that it was not interested in solving the problems of the Negro people, but the Communist Party was using the question of organizing labor, the question of fighting for the advancement of the Negro people as a means of furthering its aim to accomplish its ultimate aim, for the overthrow of the American Government through force and violence, for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Now, I had the opportunity to spend a year in Russia, to travel about, travel very widely over Russia.

Mr. SCHERER. How did that happen?

Mr. PATTERSON. I was a student of the Lenin School in Russia.

Mr. SCHERER. What year was that?

Mr. PATTERSON. From September 1931 to September 1932.

Mr. SCHERER. How old were you at that time?

Mr. PATTERSON. Let me see.

Mr. SCHERER. Approximately.

Mr. PATTERSON. I was born in 1906, and that was 1931.

Mr. SCHERER. Who sent you to the Lenin school?

Mr. PATTERSON. The Communist Party of the United States of America.

Mr. SCHERER. How long were you at that school? How much time did you spend in the Lenin School?

Mr. PATTERSON. Approximately a year.

To finish your question, by seeing both sides of the picture, by being sincere for the Communist Party, strikes, picket lines, going to jail, being clubbed, beaten up, and then seeing the other side in Russia, and then seeing that in the United States, in those years, particularly under the administration of President Roosevelt, that the problems of America trying to be solved and could be solved in a peaceful way.

So I made up my mind to leave the Communist Party. In particular when the Communist Party, under the leadership of Harry Bridges, called a second west coast strike of longshoremen on the west coast, and due to the agitation and organization, under my leadership in Philadelphia, we tied up the entire port of Philadelphia in connection with the longshoremen on the west coast, and we put forward our local demands and the shipowners gave us every one of them. Everything we asked for was given, and when I reported it back to the Communist Party, they said, "You can't settle the strike. You can't call off the strike."

I said, "Why? We got everything we want. We asked for 8 men in the hold discharge instead of 6. We got that. We asked for 85 cents an hour instead of 75, and we got that. Why can't we settle the strike?"

They said, "The west coast strikers are out on strike, and you want to stab them in the back. We are not interested in a measly 10 cents more an hour or 2 more men in the gang. We are for a big political thing. We are for a general strike. We are for keeping the port tied up. You went to the Lenin School. You know that every economic struggle becomes a political struggle. You know this is a means of involving the east and west coasts in direct struggle against the state power, against the United States Government."

So the whole scales dropped off my eyes then, so I left the Communist Party as of that day. However, I was called to several meetings of the district committee, of which I was a member, and the central committee control commission in New York, and was asked to come back into the Communist Party, but from that day on I had nothing to do with the Communist Party, the Communist Party affiliates, with the exception of speaking to and talking to certain friends that had been in the Communist Party up until 1945.

Mr. WALTER. Because of your activities in the longshoremen's organization, did you happen to know any of the people who today are tying up the port of New York?

Mr. PATTERSON. No; due to the fact that I have not studied that New York situation thoroughly. I have not paid much attention to it.

However, I do know in Philadelphia that there are certain Communist Party members like Sam Kovat, Joe Bishinsky, I think Bishinsky, and one named Banks, was trying to exploit that situation in New York to tie up Philadelphia. I know that.

Mr. WALTER. Are they members of the Communist Party?

Mr. PATTERSON. Kovat and Bishinsky are. I do not know about Banks, whether he is a member or one that is being used by the Communist Party.

Mr. WALTER. So that these Communists are today endeavoring to tie up the port of Philadelphia by resorting to the tactics that you have just described, purely political?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes. The situation in Philadelphia is almost a repercussion. The people there got good jobs, they are working, they are satisfied, and still the Communist Party is exploiting it—at least attempting to exploit it.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of the Communist Party using certain organizations in which the Negro people were interested in order to exploit them for Communist Party purposes. Do you know anything about the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born? Do you know how that was handled?

Mr. PATTERSON. I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell us just briefly?

Mr. PATTERSON. That committee, alongside of another committee, was considered by the Communist Party as a transmission belt. It was a committee that could appeal to the foreign-born people in the United States and properly claim to be their protector as a means of rallying the foreign born in the unions and in the mills and in the factories into the Communist Party.

However, there was another reason, so far as the protection of the foreign born was concerned. The overwhelming majority of the Communist Party membership at the time I was in there were foreign-born people, and most of them were not naturalized. Therefore, by creating a committee for the protection of the foreign born, the Communist Party was trying to work to safeguard its own membership, so it had two purposes.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. No questions.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. No.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. Were you here in the hearing room this morning?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. I have not ever met you before. What sign, if any, was over the headquarters of the Communist Party where you say you met these two young preachers?

Mr. PATTERSON. I do not believe there was any sign. The only time that I believe there ever was a sign over the Communist Party headquarters in Baltimore was during the election campaign, but I do not believe—there was no sign over there.

Mr. DOYLE. You have not testified—at least I have not heard you testify—I was late from the floor in getting to the committee this afternoon—of there being any Communist cells in Baltimore, Communist cells.

Mr. PATTERSON. Oh, yes, there were cells in Baltimore.

Mr. DOYLE. Have you testified as to whether or not either of these young preachers that you have named were members of the Communist Party cells?

Mr. PATTERSON. No; I have not.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, were they, to your personal knowledge?

Mr. PATTERSON. To my personal knowledge I have not attended a meeting with either one of them in a Communist Party cell.

Mr. DOYLE. You said, and I wrote down here about as you said it, "I wanted them most to give non-Communist color to the committee."

Mr. PATTERSON. That is correct.

Mr. DOYLE. At that time in Baltimore in 1935 and 1936 when you were there—or may I ask you—you were there in 1935 and 1936. I think you said you were there in August 1935.

Mr. PATTERSON. I was not there in 1936. I left there in September 1935.

Mr. DOYLE. What, to your personal knowledge, was the attitude generally of the public in Baltimore toward the Communist Party?

Mr. PATTERSON. Generally it was antagonistic.

Mr. DOYLE. It was what?

Mr. PATTERSON. Antagonistic.

Mr. DOYLE. Because of your great familiarity with the Communist Party generally in the United States, was there an approximate date upon which, in your judgment, the attitude of the American people, as appraised by you, stopped being antagonistic toward the Communist Party as it was in 1945 in Baltimore?

Mr. PATTERSON. I do not think it ever did stop.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, was there any change in the public attitude toward the Communist Party function in the United States, either favorable or unfavorable?

Mr. PATTERSON. Well, I believe today it is more unfavorable.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, I hope so. There is no question about it. What I am getting at, Mr. Patterson, is, I think Mr. Reno this morning, I understood him to say that these meetings of the Anti-Fascist League, and so forth, were very largely attended, sometimes more than 2,000 people. Now, were those the same meetings that you attended?

Mr. PATTERSON. Well, I do not know whether I attended those specific meetings or not, but I could answer your question, if you would let me.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, what I am getting at, to try to get what the feeling was of the Baltimore public toward these meetings of the Anti-Fascist League and the Ethiopian League—

Mr. PATTERSON. Well, a lot of these people who were in these meetings did not know it was Communist-laid or Communist-dominated, and when they found out, a lot of them would disassociate themselves with it. A lot of ministers would come to these Ethiopian Defense Committee meetings and other things, but the minute they found out it was a Communist-dominated or controlled affair, they would disassociate themselves from it. However, that wasn't the case with all of them.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this with reference to your experience and knowledge growing out of your having been, I think, chairman of the Negro commission, the Communist Negro commission—I think I bear in mind your testimony, but what, specifically, if anything, did the Communist Party do during your membership in it, to your personal knowledge, to raise the level of living, either economically or politically, of the American Negro?

Mr. PATTERSON. Nothing, as I see.

(Representative Bernard W. Kearney entered the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. DOYLE. What, if anything, to your knowledge, if there is any such program that you have any knowledge of, does the Communist

Party in America now have by way of programs for the betterment of the level of living economically or politically, so far as alleged civil rights are concerned, for the American Negro?

Mr. PATTERSON. None.

Mr. DOYLE. I think that is all.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you. Any further questions?

Let the record show that Mr. Kearney has just come into the committee.

Did you hear the question I addressed to Mr. Reno relative to what the church might reasonably expect if the program upon which you were embarked with other Communists had ever come to a successful fruition?

Mr. PATTERSON. I did not understand it, but I think I can answer it for you.

Mr. JACKSON. I wish you would.

Mr. PATTERSON. The church could expect the same as the peasants or the farmers where the Communist Party promised land, or the minority groups where it promised self-determination. It could expect under a Communist government in the United States a suppression of free speech, free worship, religion, and gradually liquidation. I had the opportunity to see that in Russia.

Mr. JACKSON. Well, as one who has lived through the experience of being a functionary in the Communist Party with the background that you have, from that standpoint, do you say that the pulpits of America stand in greater danger of the Communist Party and the fellow travelers or from this committee?

Mr. PATTERSON. The main danger to religion in the United States or any country in the world is communism, and I want to say that God bless this committee, it has got the nerve to go out and to investigate communism in the churches, and there is no use of minimizing this question. The Communist Party has penetrated a large section of the church in the United States.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this, Mr. Chairman, of the gentleman?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you ask God to bless this committee while you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PATTERSON. This committee?

Mr. DOYLE. I say, did you ask God to bless this committee. You say now God bless it. Did you ask God to bless it while you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PATTERSON. No, I fought you, I believe. I fought, I believe, the Fish committee and all the other committees because I was on that side of the fence then. I was sincere. Now I am on this side of the fence, and I am sincere.

Mr. JACKSON. You asked intervention from other quarters as far as the committees were concerned at that time.

Mr. PATTERSON. That is right.

Mr. JACKSON. May I ask, and you have every right to decline to answer this—I do not know what your answer is going to be—are you a church member yourself?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes, I am ordained deacon of Mount Calvary Free Will Baptist Church, Brooklyn, N. Y. I am now chairman for the Baptist committee for the fifth anniversary of that church. Anybody who wants to buy some tickets, I will give them to him.

Mr. JACKSON. Congratulations. That represents a considerable distance you have covered since 1935, Mr. Patterson.

Are there any further questions from the committee?

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I think perhaps I want to ask one more question. I want to state to the witness the background of this short question is that in my congressional district I have many thousand American citizens who are Negroes; in my book, a grand bunch of people, and I think some of the other members of this committee and many Members of Congress have American Negro citizens in their congressional districts. In view of your answer to my questions a few minutes ago, that the Communist Party never did anything to raise the level of living economically or politically for the American Negro, have you any suggestion or advice to this committee as a congressional committee as to how we can get that fact across to the American Negro?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes, I have.

Mr. DOYLE. Who is presently being misled by the Communist Party even yet?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes, and I thank you very much for asking me this question. I have been wanting to have the opportunity to speak to the committee a long time. In fact, I made three trips in your territory, California, and I am amazed to see the improvements of the conditions that the Negro has in the Los Angeles area and the Frisco area. In fact, I was there last summer.

My wife, who has never been a member of the Communist Party, she was amazed in the improvement of the condition of the Negro in California. I do not want to take up too much of your time, but I would like to cite a little incident in Frisco. I happened to be in Frisco, and I saw people from all parts of the Southern States—Texas, Louisiana, and the Negro, too—and it is amazing how they all are getting along together.

Now, I believe—not believe, I know—that there is tremendous progress being made in the United States in regard to solving what we call the race problem. I could take my home county, Wayne County, N. C. I was there a few years ago, and you would be surprised to know the achievements and the advancement of the Negro and the growing understanding and cooperation between the two races, and that is done because of enlightenment and education, and here is where the church can play a great role—and it is—Congress is doing a great job, Government is doing a great job, and I think with more education of both groups, popularizing that education—I mean popularizing the achievements, and less talk about condemning everything, that that is the best way, and I believe that we are on that road, and, in conclusion, I want to say at the time that I was active in the Communist Party I was definitely convinced that nobody in the world could solve the problems of the American Negro but the Communist Party, and I am so grateful and thankful since that time that I see that in the United States we have capable people that are not only giving lip service to solving this issue, but they are actually doing it, and you can just look right out the window, Washington, D. C.—and see for yourself. I do not need to say any more. You don't need a revolution to do that. You didn't need a picket line. You did not need to steal the atom bomb to do that, but we did it in the American way.

Mr. DOYLE. I hope that when you come to California again I may know long enough in advance so that I can plan that you can help

inform and educate and interpret to many of the thousands in Los Angeles County of the American Negro that I know.

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes, sir; I would be glad to.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Patterson, as to your closing statement, I wish the House provided us enough funds to make several million copies of it and drop them behind the Curtain. Unfortunately, they do not. However, I do want to say on behalf of the committee that we are grateful to you for your cooperation during the period of your previous interrogation and also today.

Again, the committee and the Congress and the American people know what they do about communism today and its operations due to the fact that former Communists are willing to come forward and do a very onerous and disagreeable chore in testifying as to the extent and nature and objectives of the party as of the period of their membership. We get no information from fifth-amendment witnesses. They add nothing to the knowledge of the committee nor of the Congress. With the thanks of the committee, you are excused, Mr. Patterson.

Mr. Counsel, the committee will take a recess for 10 minutes.

(Whereupon, at 3:35 p. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 3:45 p. m.)

(Whereupon, at 3:50 p. m., the hearing was reconvened, Representative Clyde Doyle having left the hearing room during the recess.)

Mr. JACKSON. The committee will be in order.

Are you ready to proceed, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Call your next witness, please.

Mr. TAVENNER. Rev. Joseph Nowak, will you come forward, please, sir?

Mr. JACKSON. Will you raise your right hand, sir? Do you solemnly swear in the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. NOWAK. I do.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Very well.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH S. NOWAK

Mr. TAVENNER. You are Rev. Joseph S. Nowak?

Mr. NOWAK. That is right, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell your last name, please?

Mr. NOWAK. N-o-w-a-k.

Mr. TAVENNER. I notice you are not accompanied by counsel.

Mr. NOWAK. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you desire counsel?

Mr. NOWAK. If you do not mind, I came here to tell truth and nothing but the truth, so I hope with that kind of evidence I need no lawyer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Very well, sir.

When and where were you born, Reverend Nowak?

Mr. NOWAK. I was born in Lwow, Poland. It was Austria then, on October 17, 1903.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the names of the places, please?

Mr. NOWAK. L-w-o-w, Lwow, Poland. It used to be Poland. It is not Poland any more.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is it now?

Mr. NOWAK. Soviet Union.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you come to this country, Reverend Nowak?

Mr. NOWAK. My parents, or rather, my father came first, and then my mother followed when he got his job. My mother brought me over in June of 1906.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a naturalized American citizen?

Mr. NOWAK. Through my father's citizenship papers I am, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your occupation, please?

Mr. NOWAK. Well, social worker and minister.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your formal educational training has been?

Mr. NOWAK. I think so. Baltimore City College, which used to be high school in Baltimore City, graduate 1921. Then I went to work and did not go back to college until 1928, Johns Hopkins University, bachelor of arts in 1932. Then in 1935 bachelor of divinity at the Union Theological Seminary, New York City.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what assignments you have had since the completion of your educational training?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes. In general from 1934, that is, the year before my graduation, till 1942 I was in charge of a small mission, St. Paul's Presbyterian Church in the city of Baltimore, Md. By the end of 1942 the mission was dissolved, and then I held a pastorate in Chicago in 1943-44, minister of Portage Park Presbyterian Church in Chicago. Then from 1944, after a very short stay of several weeks, practically at the Association House, Presbyterian Settlement House in Chicago, I became adult education director of the University of Chicago settlement.

From 1944 until 1950 I received another appointment from the Presbyterian Church to the Mountaineer Mining Mission around Morgantown, W. Va., from where in 1951 I was called to Detroit to Dodge Community House, where I resigned as of January 1, 1953.

Since then I had occasional jobs, the last one being at the YMCA, Downtown YMCA, in Detroit—whether I am or have been, I do not know yet—desk clerk at the Downtown Y in Detroit.

Mr. JACKSON. Just a moment, Mr. Counsel. Would you explain? You say you have been; you do not know whether you are any longer. What is the situation?

Mr. NOWAK. I do not know how to put it, because 24 hours ago I was sure I had it, but now, if there is an appropriate time for it, I will probably try to explain. In other words, I have caused quite a bit of publicity to the YMCA, and therefore, while I have not been officially laid off, I was made to understand that the situation is very unpleasant, and it is up to me to make a decision, but the final decision still rests in the hands of the metropolitan secretary, who can fire if he wants to.

Mr. WALTER. Up to you to make a decision; is that what you said?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes.

(Representative Bernard W. Kearney left the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. WALTER. Was the innuendo that if you did not refuse to testify, you were going to lose your job?

Mr. NOWAK. It was not put that way.

Mr. WALTER. Nobody had better ever do that to a witness in this committee, or they will find themselves in more trouble than they can imagine can happen to any one person.

Mr. NOWAK. Mr. Congressman, if you do not mind if I say this one thing, please, I am not implying that they made any innuendoes, but they figured I got them into unfavorable publicity and therefore, well, they did not want to have any more unfavorable publicity. I can see their argument pretty clearly, but that is the situation, sir.

Mr. WALTER. No attempt was made to influence you not to testify?

Mr. NOWAK. Oh, no; I would not say that.

Mr. WALTER. All right.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think it is only fair to the witness that everyone reserve their opinion about you until they have heard your testimony.

Mr. NOWAK. Well, it is bad publicity anyway.

Mr. TAVENNER. Isn't that fair?

Mr. NOWAK. That is what I would feel.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Reverend Nowak, you appeared as a witness before an executive session of the committee on the 22d day of December 1953.

Mr. NOWAK. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. At which time, in answer to a question as to whether you had ever been a member of the Communist Party, you replied that you had not.

Mr. NOWAK. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is it true that at a subsequent time you voluntarily advised an investigator of this committee that your denial of Communist Party membership was not truthful?

Mr. NOWAK. That is true, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that your conscience compelled you to correct your testimony?

Mr. NOWAK. That is true, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was any promise made, either directly or indirectly, by the investigator, any member of the staff of the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any member of the committee—that is, directly or indirectly, either in the nature of affording immunity or offering any reward or promise of any character in the event you would correct your testimony?

Mr. NOWAK. None whatsoever, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to give you the opportunity, if you desire to take advantage of it, to make any statement you desire regarding the reasons for your desire to change your testimony in that respect.

Mr. NOWAK. Well, of course the main reason was probably this, that after I have given false testimony on 22d of December, I knew that it was not true, and I felt bad and was afraid, but the second more important thing is this, Mr. Tavenner: For 8 years I have been trying to dodge the fact that I did belong to the party, and I thought I buried the whole memory of it, and I knew I had been one, and that blamed thing just haunted me all the time. That probably may ex-

plain even some of my actions in the last 8 years because, though I was pretty sure nobody knew, at the same time I knew that I was one, and finally it got to the point where I could not live it myself. I had to tell or else be a fool or a crazy nut or something like that, so I did tell, and it relieved me quite a bit, sir.

Now, would that sound intelligible?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir; I think that is easy to understand.

(Representative Clyde Doyle returned to the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. TAVENNER. It is easy to understand that you would want to correct a misstatement. You say you have been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. NOWAK. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where and when did you become a member?

Mr. NOWAK. Well, I became a member in Chicago in 1946 in the month of May, and I sneaked out of it, let us put it that way, some time early in the fall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of the same year?

Mr. NOWAK. Of the same year.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you had any connection with the Communist Party since that time?

Mr. NOWAK. As a party organization; no. I have seen the individuals because I was involved in the union organizing, and I have seen some of these people.

Mr. TAVENNER. But you have taken no part in any Communist Party activity since the fall of the same year in which you joined the Communist Party?

Mr. NOWAK. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will ask you a little later about the circumstances under which you left the Communist Party.

Mr. NOWAK. All right, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party while you were on your assignment in Baltimore?

Mr. NOWAK. No, sir; I was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Although you were not a member of the Communist Party while you were in Baltimore, did you collaborate with functionaries of the Communist Party while you were there—

Mr. NOWAK. I worked together—

Mr. TAVENNER. And worked with the Communist Party?

Mr. NOWAK. I worked together with them; yes.

Mr. WALTER. Knowingly?

Mr. NOWAK. As an official of the American League [Against War and Fascism]; yes, and also knowingly. I knew that they were officials in the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you continue in that relationship with officials of the Communist Party during the entire period after your graduation from the Union Theological Seminary until you left Baltimore in 1942?

Mr. NOWAK. I would say I was actively—I worked with them as long as American League Against War and Fascism existed. When the whole thing disintegrated, well, there was nothing else to be done for the American League, and there was no collaboration.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you work with the Communist Party in any way prior to your coming to Baltimore in 1935?

Mr. NOWAK. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Before coming to Baltimore in 1935 had you come to any conclusion in your own mind as to what you would do if you had the opportunity to work with the Communist Party?

Mr. NOWAK. Do you mind if I say it in a few more words, probably, than you expect? I believed at that time in the theory of the united front. I believed in the so-called anti-Fascist program of the American League Against War and Fascism, which included open collaboration with the Communist Party as one of the constituent groups of the united front. I believed in it, and therefore I worked with any group which would be willing to work with the American League. Does that answer what you want from the question?

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you familiar with Marxian principles and the doctrines of the Communist Party before you arrived in Baltimore?

Mr. NOWAK. Well, in theory, yes, because there were books available, and we did study, for example, in the Seminary a course which was Christian ethics something or other, in which we studied various branches and kinds of socialism, and we devoted quite a bit of time to the theory of orthodox Marxism, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin.

Mr. WALTER. And where was that?

Mr. NOWAK. At the Union Theological Seminary.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please—

Mr. SCHERER. May I interrupt just a moment, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. Was Harry Ward one of your professors?

Mr. NOWAK. Sure.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you tell the committee what your attitude was and your viewpoint was toward working with the Communist Party after having acquired a knowledge of Communist Party doctrine as you have described?

Mr. NOWAK. Let us see what you mean by this question. Do you mind of repeating it or putting it around so—

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. I want to know whether or not before you came to Baltimore you had any preconceived ideas on your own part as to what you should do about working with the Communist Party in any of its projects.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Counsel, I think I get the idea. May I rephrase your question for you?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. How does it happen, Reverend Nowak, that a man who had just graduated or who was about to graduate and who had dedicated his life to the service of God, gets linked up with an organization knowingly which was working toward the complete destruction of Christian ethics?

Mr. NOWAK. Well, Mr. Jackson, it is not as easy as that, and it surely was not as easy as that in 1935. There were two lines, two reasons for my working together, and that is, if I chanced to work with the Communist Party, if I chanced to meet them in my plans—in the first place, there was the danger of fascism, and we were going to fight fascism, and also do something about the unemployment situation in America, possibly, seeing all the unemployment, things like that, where Christian ethics does not agree with the so-called ethic of the society that we were living in.

Therefore, there were points which I believed in common between the ethics of communism and the ethics of Christianity. That is point No. 1.

Point No. 2, we were coming to this conclusion—I can speak for myself, but I know we discussed it among the students—that the great world depression was going to wind up eventually in the struggle of classes in which the working class or the masses, as we believed, would array itself against the upper classes, the bourgeoisie, and there would be what you may call a revolution. We believed that this movement which we called communism was going to lead and head up the masses and that the church is not going to be able to hold them back because the church in the period of unemployment, in the period of stress, is not taking the part of the common people. Therefore it is up to those individuals who believed in the Christian ethics of the New Testament to go out on their own and identify themselves with the masses so that if and when such things should happen, when the church would be disowned by the masses, there would be those Christian individuals who were part of the masses who could then show that they as Christians did not abandon those masses, but stayed with them and helped to bring the new order.

MR. JACKSON. You were going to use the Communist Party?

MR. NOWAK. Well, yes.

MR. JACKSON. That is not an uncommon mistake. A lot of other people have made the same one.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

MR. TAVENNER. If I understand you correctly, you were expecting that capitalism and our form of government would perish and that communism would survive; is that what you—

MR. NOWAK. Well, I would not equally say capitalist system and our form of government, because forms of government can survive while their contents may be different, and after all, we were not such a wonderful theoretician that we provided for every possibility in the future, but we were firmly believing that there was going to be a change, and in that change we sympathized with the masses and demands of the workers for the organized labor and things like that that would stand with them and by them, firmly believing that we were doing Christian duty and at the same time saving ultimately what would be called church from tremendous defeat to come. Well, let us put it that way.

MR. TAVENNER. How could you expect the church to resist tremendous defeat if the Communist Party, with its beliefs regarding the church, was the dominant power?

MR. NOWAK. Well, hindsight is better than foresight, you see. We believed that the changes were coming and, according to the Christian ethic, those changes were justified, and therefore that there would be somebody to witness for religion over in the camp of the masses, let us put it that way.

MR. SCHERER. Is that from a Harry Ward talk?

MR. NOWAK. That is not the exact words, but I know that most of these ideas would come out of the courses and discussions among the students, that there has to be some kind of definite action on the part of these groups of masses. You see, it was not as clear to me as right here at the table, but we believed in that thing, and we got it from our school classes.

Mr. JACKSON. How generally accepted was that thesis at Union Theological Seminary during the period of time you were a student?

Mr. NOWAK. I think just a small group believed in it.

Mr. JACKSON. A minority, a small minority of the entire student body?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes; small minority would have reached that point.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, was it those beliefs and those views that you have just expressed which led you into cooperation with the Communist Party when the opportunity afforded itself in Baltimore?

Mr. NOWAK. I would say so.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you begin your work in Baltimore?

Mr. NOWAK. I began it the second week of September 1934.

Mr. TAVENNER. During that period of time you were still enrolled in the Union Theological Seminary?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes; that is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where you received your degree in May of 1935?

Mr. NOWAK. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. So you devoted full time to Baltimore some time after May 1935?

Mr. NOWAK. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you meet a person by the name of Mr. Earl Reno in Baltimore?

Mr. NOWAK. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he use that name at that time?

Mr. NOWAK. No. He was Earl Dixon.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did Earl Dixon hold in the Communist Party?

Mr. NOWAK. He was the party organizer for Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he an open party member? That is, was it known publicly that he was the organizer for the Communist Party?

Mr. NOWAK. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was any effort made by the Communist Party or by Mr. Dixon to conceal from anyone the fact that he was a Communist Party organizer?

Mr. NOWAK. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Reverend Hutchison?

Mr. NOWAK. I imagine. We went through the seminary.

Mr. TAVENNER. Rev. John A. Hutchison.

Mr. NOWAK. Yes; we were through the seminary together.

Mr. TAVENNER. He came to the city of Baltimore from the same class?

Mr. NOWAK. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. As your class?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. At Union Theological Seminary?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, whether you and Reverend Hutchison in August of 1935 went to the Communist Party headquarters in Baltimore and talked to Mr. Earl Dixon.

Mr. NOWAK. It was around the end of August that we were in the Communist Party headquarters.

Mr. TAVENNER. To whom do you refer when you say "we"?

Mr. NOWAK. Jack and I, or Rev. John A. Hutchison.

MR. TAVENNER. Where was the Communist Party headquarters at that time?

MR. NOWAK. 209 South Bond Street, right below—

MR. TAVENNER. Was that the first time that you met Mr. Dixon?

MR. NOWAK. That was the first or the second, because I know that we had a meeting on the corner of Orvin Street. That is one block east of Broadway and Baltimore Street—about that week when Jack was speaking and I was speaking, and Mary Himoff was speaking, so it might have been that I did meet Earl first on the street, but I know that I did go to the office.

MR. TAVENNER. And the time that you are referring to when you met Earl on the street was about the same week when you had—

MR. NOWAK. It might have been a couple of days previous or a couple of days subsequent to that meeting in the party headquarters.

MR. TAVENNER. In any event, not more than a week's difference either before or after you met him?

MR. NOWAK. That is about it, yes.

MR. TAVENNER. In the Communist Party headquarters?

MR. NOWAK. That is about it.

MR. TAVENNER. Do you recall seeing any other person or persons in the Communist Party headquarters when you and Reverend Hutchison went there and talked to Mr. Dixon in August of 1935?

MR. NOWAK. I can remember two people, Mary Himoff, Earl Dixon's wife, and Leonard Patterson.

MR. TAVENNER. Both of them were there?

MR. NOWAK. They were on the premises.

MR. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, just what the nature of your conversation was with Mr. Dixon at that time?

MR. NOWAK. Well, we were probably full of enthusiasm about the activities of the Ethiopian League, because let me just put in one bit of information which will kind of round it out: As far as I can recollect, the first person who told me about the Ethiopian [Defense] Committee was a fellow by the name of Walter Potrzucki. He was a Polish tailor. His wife happened to attend the church where I was the minister.

MR. TAVENNER. Will you spell the last name, please?

MR. NOWAK. P-o-t-r-z-u-c-k-i.

MR. TAVENNER. Did you learn whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party?

MR. NOWAK. Well, he was like the village fool. Everybody in the Polish colony knew he was a Communist. I have no documentary evidence, but everybody called him that, and then he came to me full of enthusiasm and asked me to go to a meeting of the Ethiopian [Defense] Committee, and that was an evening in the middle of the week, and I went with him to a meeting on East Baltimore Street in one of those lodge halls about 1100 East Baltimore. There were about a dozen people there. Then that same night—I would not know exactly whether that same night or following night I was already speaking on the street corners, I was so glad to get in on the bandwagon, and within 1 week I met the American League [Against War and Fascism] people, I met the party people, Ethiopian League people, all within the space of 1 short week which was about near the end of August of 1935.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you went into the office of the headquarters of the Communist Party and met Mr. Dixon, did you tell him where you had come from, where you had had your training?

Mr. NOWAK. I am sure I would have told him that, because we were kind of proud that we came from Union Theological [Seminary], and we were Harry Ward's boys.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether you told him that you were Harry Ward's boys?

Mr. NOWAK. Well, if I did not tell him that first meeting, I must have told him the second meeting, but I know that I did tell him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why did you tell him you were Harry Ward's boy?

Mr. NOWAK. Because Harry Ward's boys were so active in the American League [Against War and Fascism] and in the work against fascism and against Italy, that they were proud of it and bragged about it. It was almost like an "open sesame," let us say, to the activities of the Ethiopian [Defense] Committee, an explanation why we were there.

Mr. TAVENNER. What did you talk to Mr. Dixon about, you and Reverend Hutchison, if you can recall at this time?

Mr. NOWAK. Well, I cannot recall the actual contents of those words. It has been years ago, so now at this present moment I can only say that we must have talked about the campaign going on and where we can fit in.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were anxious to be of any assistance that you could?

Mr. NOWAK. I was anxious, and I am sure that Jack must have been also, interested and anxious.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether or not you met Leonard Patterson at that time in the headquarters?

Mr. NOWAK. I met him around that time, and I know that pretty soon I worked with him on the Ethiopian [Defense] Committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall who told you to work with him on the Ethiopian Defense Committee?

Mr. NOWAK. Well, it might have been Dixon, because we met all within those few days, and I knew he was YCL representative, therefore he must have been introduced to me.

Mr. TAVENNER. After you met Leonard Patterson or saw Leonard Patterson when you and Reverend Hutchison were at the Communist Party headquarters, when did you next see him? That is, Leonard Patterson.

Mr. NOWAK. It is hard to tell, probably within that week because we had meetings, street-corner meetings, and all the campaign was going very fast, and I know that within 2 weeks at the most I must have been active at least 4 or 5 nights at various street-corner meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, when you saw Mr. Leonard Patterson the next day or the next week, whenever it was, were you and Reverend Hutchison together, or were you separate?

Mr. NOWAK. Well, all I remember, that both myself and Reverend Hutchison were in the party headquarters several times. I was there myself many more times because I lived close by, and I got to like Earl Dixon quite a bit as an individual, but I cannot put regular chronological order, that would be too far back for me to remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you and Reverend Hutchison talk with Leonard Patterson about the work of the Ethiopian Defense Committee?

Mr. NOWAK. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did that conversation take place?

Mr. NOWAK. There again, you see, their headquarters were in the colored neighborhood in the lower part of northwest Baltimore. I know that we did meet over at the party headquarters, which is also in the center of a smaller Negro community in east Baltimore, so all I remember is that I was at both places.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was anything said by you or Reverend Hutchison or both of you to Leonard Patterson regarding the training that you had had in Marxian and Communist doctrine?

Mr. NOWAK. I would not be surprised that it would be the first or second time that we would be bragging that we know our Marxism. We were proud that we knew the books, we knew the theory, and like youngsters would, were cocky about it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he, that is, Leonard Patterson, attempt to explain Communist Party doctrine to you?

Mr. NOWAK. That is true.

Mr. TAVENNER. And did you tell him you already knew?

Mr. NOWAK. Well, in these words, we simply let him know we knew the stuff as far as theory was concerned, because we did know it.

Mr. TAVENNER. What did you and Reverend Hutchison do in connection with the committee work, that is, of the Ethiopian Defense Committee?

Mr. NOWAK. Well, we did a lot of talking. We called the series—we worked out that strategy of series of neighborhood meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. To whom do you refer when you say “we”?

Mr. NOWAK. The committee—in other words, the heart of the committee consisted of Sam Swerdloff, the executive secretary of the league, Leonard Patterson, representing the Ethiopian League, and other people who were more or less coming in into the committee. Then the two of us were a welcome addition as speakers, and our plans were to call mass meetings in each neighborhood, the details were worked out by people who knew the neighborhood better than we did, where we put out platforms—of course, we had to get police permit for that—got the lighting setup and setup streets like you would set them up for carnivals, give out leaflets in the whole neighborhood, go around the neighborhood with a loudspeaker and announce the mass meeting to defend Ethiopia, and then at a given time we would stop, get up on the platform and start a series of speeches, and we had an attendance of anywhere from 400 to 2,000 people in at least 6 or 8 meetings within a very short time of about 3 or 4 weeks.

Mr. JACKSON. Did you know that the direction of these demonstrations was in the hands of the Communist Party?

Mr. NOWAK. I would say at that time that I knew that the Communist Party was very active and were very active participants in the whole campaign.

Mr. JACKSON. This grew out of your personal discussions with members of the Communist Party, in some instances at least, relative to how the demonstrations were to be carried on?

Mr. NOWAK. Well, we relied on the people who knew more about it than we ourselves did.

Mr. JACKSON. Were those the Communists?

Mr. NOWAK. In most cases they were.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many speeches did you make in furthering the objectives of the Ethiopian Defense Committee?

Mr. NOWAK. Good Lord, I couldn't count it. For example, some nights we made a sort of running flight from one corner to another. Then I would probably speak about 3 or 4 times that 1 night.

Mr. TAVENNER. To whom do you refer when you say "we"?

Mr. NOWAK. The active group in the Ethiopian [Defense] Committee, which included American League [Against War and Fascism] people and Ethiopian League people who were managing the meetings and speeches.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Reverend Hutchison made any speeches in connection with the work of this committee?

Mr. NOWAK. He made several.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you present when the speeches were made?

Mr. NOWAK. Sure, on the same platform.

Mr. TAVENNER. You may have told us how often you and Reverend Hutchison discussed activities with Mr. Dixon, but I do not recall what you said.

Mr. NOWAK. I would say that we both went there several times. I went there by myself much more often.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, what was your purpose in going?

Mr. NOWAK. Partly to discuss what had been done, partly to talk over the events of the day in the newspapers with somebody who was sympathetic, and partly because I liked Earl, and I kind of had fun chewing the rag with him, listening to what he had done in Detroit, and all that sort of stuff. Frankly, I liked Earl very much. We became pals; it was funny. I liked Sam Swerdloff very much. It seemed like within a week or so we were buddy-buddies, and it was strong personal feeling that I liked these guys.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Sam Swerdloff was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. NOWAK. I would say I did, but don't try to ask me when I learned about it. I do not believe he would have denied it if I had asked him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you seen Sam Swerdloff here today?

Mr. NOWAK. I did. He hasn't changed a heck of a lot.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you receive directions or instructions from Sam Swerdloff at any time as to the function that you should perform in any of these organizations?

Mr. NOWAK. Well, Mr. Tavenner, the chairman is usually something like a rubber stamp, executive secretary is usually the active person. So I relied on Sam's judgment quite often and followed what he suggested, but it was more like a cooperative enterprise than any one person dictating, but Sam handled the details as an executive director of the league.

Mr. TAVENNER. We have learned that the American League Against War and Facism, at the instance of the Communist Party, sponsored a demonstration at the docking of the German battleship *Emden*. Do you recall that?

Mr. NOWAK. I recall some of it; yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you take part in it?

Mr. NOWAK. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you discuss the matter with Mr. Dixon prior to your taking part in it?

Mr. NOWAK. Well, I know that discussion was carried mostly through the executive secretary of the American League.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is Mr. Swerdloff?

Mr. NOWAK. That is right. I know that I was active in it. I know that, for example, I went, and I got as a speaker Mr. Thurgood Marshall, who was at that time legal representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Why I was picked out, probably because I have known him, and he would have said yes to me. He might not have said yes to others. He was the main speaker.

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a moment. Are you doubtful whether he would have accepted from the head of the Communist Party in Baltimore?

Mr. NOWAK. I think he would have had sense enough to say no.

Mr. TAVENNER. He did not know, in fact, of the Communist connection with this demonstration, did he?

Mr. NOWAK. I cannot tell other peoples minds.

Mr. TAVENNER. But as far as you know, did he know?

Mr. NOWAK. That is again hard to tell because American League was being criticized more and more later as being controlled by the Communists, whether he felt that way in 1936 I could not tell you.

Mr. TAVENNER. At any rate, you were active in that demonstration?

Mr. NOWAK. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. What part did you play in the actual demonstration?

Mr. NOWAK. I was on the sound truck and opened the meeting with an invocation.

Mr. TAVENNER. Reverend Hutchison—did Reverend Hutchison take any part in the demonstration?

Mr. NOWAK. I know he was on the platform. I cannot remember now whether he made a speech or rather read a set of resolutions to be adopted by the meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who prepared the resolution?

Mr. NOWAK. At a meeting of the committee where Sam Swerdloff and others were present, and we prepared them.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is there anything else that you can recall about the presence of Reverend Hutchison at that demonstration?

Mr. NOWAK. Well, I know this much, that Reverend Hutchison and I left the demonstration in the same car. Jack took me home and dropped me off at my home after the demonstration.

Mr. TAVENNER. You seem to express concern about the part that you played in that demonstration by giving the invocation.

Mr. NOWAK. Well, frankly I felt like a fool, even when I agreed at the meeting prior to the demonstration, at a meeting of the committee, to take that part, because after all was said and done, I felt it was not appropriate to have a meeting of that kind started with a prayer, but I went along with the whole business. When I got through with it, I spoke to Earl and to others that I felt like a damned fool, and I know that I felt that way, that it was a foolish thing for me to do, not so much being active to it as rather sticking prayer right into that kind of a meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there any arrests made at that demonstration?

Mr. NOWAK. To be frank with you, I heard now that there were arrests. I do not remember. I remember police closing in on some

kind of fracas on the outskirts of the crowd, and I remember the police closing in, but you see, I do not remember all those details. I might even say now I remember, which would not be quite fair because I might have heard somebody say that.

Mr. TAVENNER. I only want what you, yourself, recall.

Mr. NOWAK. Yes, I understand.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, whether or not you discussed tactics with Mr. Dixon, that is, Communist Party tactics, how to carry out certain objectives, if you had such conversations?

Mr. NOWAK. Well, I discussed tactics as of a given date. I would not call it Communist Party tactics, but my relationship to both Earl and Sam would have been like somebody who did not know the traits, so he bowed to the judgment, not only bowed, but sought the judgment of those who were better trained than he was. But I know that I always thought Earl knew so much more than I, that of course if he had suggested something, unless it was something violently against my convictions, I would agree to go along.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall having any such discussion with Earl Dixon in the presence of Swerdloff?

Mr. NOWAK. There again I have never been in the party headquarters when Sam Swerdloff was present there. I have gone there on several occasions when Sam said, "Go over and see Earl." Of course, either Earl or his wife, Mary Himoff, were so-called bona fide members of the American League, on the committee. Mary Himoff was really in charge of women's work.

"Go ahead and see Mary Himoff about it or see Earl about it," O. K., if I had time I would go in and see.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall any occasion when Mr. Dixon attended your church?

Mr. NOWAK. I know Mr. Dixon and a whole gang of YCL'ers dropped into a New Year's party, and actually they did so with my knowledge. I knew they were coming from their party. Then our church was sort of a community center. When we had parties, dances, lectures, young people's meetings—our church was used by certain groups like during the big maritime strike, various committees used it, and I know that Earl was to the New Year's party. I remember that distinctly. I do not remember, though I cannot say that it was not true, any other time that Earl Dixon would be in my church.

Mr. JACKSON. But you do have a clear recollection of the New Year's Eve party—

Mr. NOWAK. Oh, yes, the gang came about 2 o'clock in the morning and danced with our own gang until about 3:30.

Mr. JACKSON. That is the occasion to which he testified here today.

Mr. NOWAK. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at any time engage in any work in which the Communist Party was interested in the steel mills or in the seamen's union?

Mr. NOWAK. Well, I was active as an active volunteer, you might say, around the National Maritime Union headquarters with Pat Whelan. Their headquarters were also within my parish territory, and I dropped in quite often. I was genuinely interested in the CIO organizing committee, and I was genuinely in contact with the CIO organizers, and in those early days before you had well molded, you

may say, bureaucracy of the unions, most of the actual volunteer work was done either by the Communists or Communist sympathizers. Only later, after the unions began to grow stronger, did you have staffs and everything else that you have now.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you aware of the Communist Party interest and activity under Pat Whelan and the maritime strike?

Mr. NOWAK. I do not think you could escape it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you assist in any way in the strike, on the picket line or otherwise?

Mr. NOWAK. Well, there were not any big strikes of NMU except the first one where I did not take part in it while I was with Pat Whelan, so I was in no picket lines of the National Maritime Union. I was active in various unofficial committees organized to get people into the unions, and, of course, gave names, say, of specially Polish people, members of fraternal organizations who formed unofficial committees to organize the steelworkers. Their headquarters were downtown. There you saw all kinds of people, and, of course, every organizer would have known that Communists were active in organizing the unions. Every union organizer knew it.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have told the committee that you became a member of the Communist Party in 1946, May, I think, of 1946.

Mr. NOWAK. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee why it is you were not a member of the Communist Party in Baltimore, though you later became a member in Chicago?

Mr. NOWAK. In Baltimore I do not think I felt any need or desire to be a member.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why?

Mr. NOWAK. I was a united-front man, and I believe in collaboration of the Communists with the other left-wing groups, and when later this was impossible, I dropped the whole business and turned to studying and other things.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, as a matter of fact, your work in Baltimore was so close to the Communist Party that it was virtually the same as though you were a member, was it not, other than the payment of dues?

Mr. NOWAK. I would not say that. From the 1954 angle it may look that way, from the 1954 angle, but in 1935-36 you still had people believing in the united front, and I was doing the united front work. Let us put it that way. At the same time I had that belief that I mentioned in the beginning, if you identify yourself with the masses, which meant CIO organizations, labor unions, New Deal, then you would become one of that group.

Mr. JACKSON. Reverend Nowak, in doing the work within the united front as a non-Communist with knowledge of the Communist influences in the united front, the practical effect was that you were doing the same type of work as those who were actually members of the Communist Party?

Mr. NOWAK. In a great many cases, I agree with you that I would.

Mr. JACKSON. And that your value to the Communist Party was enhanced in many instances by virtue of the fact that you did not carry a Communist Party card?

Mr. NOWAK. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. What led you to become a dues-paying member of the Communist Party in 1946?

Mr. NOWAK. Well, I was at that time active in the United Office and Professional Workers Union. We were organizing social workers in Chicago. We tried very hard to organize workers in especially the group work field which is a special branch of social work, and includes almost all adult education workers and workers in various settlements. The union was left-wing dominated. I got involved in union politics. I did not like the rise of the right-wing CIO activities. Up to that time there was a sort of truce between the two wings, and under persuasion, against my better judgment, I agreed to join the party. I joined and belonged to the branch of the United Office and Professional Workers, which was mostly composed of the small group of functionaries of the union which met on Michigan Avenue near Walton in Chicago. As I kept attending the meetings, most of the meetings were devoted to the denunciation of Browder and Browderism. Well, the other part of the discussion was devoted to the so-called male chauvinism.

The majority of the members were women, and they were mostly wasting their time talking that we still have male chauvinism in the country, even within the party—in other words, the men are the bosses, and the women are nothing but the executors of the wills of the men. Then I began to wonder whether really the unions were going to win anything from the leftwing movement as it was then, so I dropped out without getting to any arguments or fights, simply stopped paying dues, and I wanted to forget my activity there.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many meetings do you think you attended of the Communist Party?

Mr. NOWAK. Let me see. I was a member there about 4 months, a meeting was every other week. At first I attended fairly religiously, I would say about 5 to 7 meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then when you dropped out of the Communist Party at that time, you have remained out of it?

Mr. NOWAK. I have remained out of the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. You had hoped to forget it?

Mr. NOWAK. Well, I hoped to, but I evidently didn't forget it, so I had to get rid of it right now by telling you about it. You see, Mr. Chairman, here is a thing I might add: It is easier to get into a thing than to get out of it, and even when I was in that party I had acquired a certain reputation among the union people and the Polish element that I was sort of an unofficial, well, what would you say, leftwinger, but nobody, at least I thought nobody knew that I was a party member because none of the people of Polish extraction except one person belonged to this United Office and Professional Office Workers Union that we were in, so, therefore, as long as I stayed in Chicago, the people still looked up to me as one of the representatives, "That's Mr. Nowak," and incidentally, I might as well repeat one thing out of turn here, but you don't mind if I say it, because I told it to the committee, and I might as well repeat it.

You know, as I told you, I was an organizer for the International Workers' Order in Chicago. I was a bum organizer. I was too religious for everything else. But still people in Chicago knew about it, and, brother, trying to forget, I went to West Virginia trying to

forget it, went to Detroit and tried to forget it, and it caught up with me. That is about all I can tell you.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the course of the testimony of Reverend Hutchison, reference was made by him to the receipt of a letter from you, which I believe was put in the record.

Mr. NOWAK. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was after you had testified before this committee in December of 1953, was it not?

Mr. NOWAK. That is right, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee about that? I think since the matter has been mentioned, we should have a full explanation of it.

Mr. NOWAK. You see, my hearing was held the 22d of December. I think it was about the middle or around the 11th or 15th of January that I received a letter from Reverend Hutchison—I call him Jack because I remember him so well. In that letter he expressed a certain amount of concern, because he said he was going to be called to the hearings. He suggested we might get together and talk the things over before the hearing and wanted an answer. It was a nice friendly letter, but I was scared, and I wanted to forget about the whole thing. I did not answer. Later, about the 24th, 25th, or 26th of February, toward the end of February, I got a phone call from Reverend Hutchison, long distance call to my place of work at the YMCA, asking me certain questions, specifically the question raised by the testimony of Earl Reno, that we two came down to the party headquarters.

I told Reverend Hutchison on the phone I could not answer such things on the phone, so he said he would write a letter, and he wrote me a letter which I received, I think, around the 1st day of March, maybe, or—no, about the 26th of March possibly. I mean about the 28th of February. In this letter he asked me to write him something refuting that charge by Earl Dixon. I was worried. I was in deep enough as it was, and then I did something which wasn't very smart. I went to Dr. Neigh with the letter, and I want you gentlemen to know that Dr. Neigh did not know about my background in Chicago. He still thought it was an escapade of years ago and didn't worry about it very much.

Mr. WALTER. Who is Dr. Neigh.

Mr. NOWAK. Dr. Neigh is a member of the executive of the Michigan Synod of the Presbyterian Church. I showed him the letter, and he looked it over, probably he didn't even read it. He said, "Joe, I wouldn't be worried. Write him the letter."

So I said O. K., I would write Jack a letter, but that I would send him a copy. I went home and stayed for about a weekend without writing that letter. I still didn't like it. Mostly I was afraid, let us not put it on my conscience in honesty. I was afraid. Finally I said, "I will write it." I wrote the letter to Reverend Hutchison and sent 1 copy to Dr. Neigh and kept 1 copy myself.

Mr. JACKSON. Let me interrupt at that point. Of what were you afraid?

Mr. NOWAK. Well, here is the point: I knew perfectly well that I lied to you in September—in December. I still followed the old policy of forgetting about 1946 and any reference to my experience in Chicago I tried to forget it by almost digging my head in sand

like an ostrich, and here come up those questions which require me to face the facts.

Mr. JACKSON. In other words, you were afraid that anything you might put in a letter which would satisfy the request would in fact not be the truth?

Mr. NOWAK. That is right.

Mr. WALTER. Did Dr. Hutchison indicate that he wanted you to tell something that wasn't true?

Mr. NOWAK. He wouldn't put that in a letter.

Mr. WALTER. Over the telephone did he indicate that?

Mr. NOWAK. He wouldn't put that in the telephone either, but the very fact of denial that we ever met Earl Reno in the party office was untrue.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask, Mr. Chairman, where the letter is?

Mr. JACKSON. The letters have been incorporated into the record.

Mr. DOYLE. I see. I was going to suggest that as the best thing by itself.

Mr. JACKSON. They were incorporated into the executive testimony.

Mr. DOYLE. I see.

Mr. JACKSON. Of Reverend Nowak.

Mr. NOWAK. Did I make that story clear? So therefore I knew that when I wrote the letter the way I did write it—I can't blame anybody for writing the letter. After all, each one should be responsible for his own acts. I did lie indirectly or directly, whichever way you want to say it, because I supported the contention that there was no such meeting.

Mr. JACKSON. Where as a matter of fact you knew perfectly well that there had been such a meeting.

Mr. NOWAK. I knew there had been a meeting. I did not remember all the details, but the fact is, I knew that we had a meeting or more than one meeting. We were friendly, we met, and we talked and did things. It is no use to deny it.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Reverend Hutchison had written a letter to Dr. Neigh before or about the same time he wrote you?

Mr. NOWAK. That I wouldn't know, sir. That I would not know.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think that is all, Reverend Nowak, that I desire to ask you.

Mr. NOWAK. I thank you.

Mr. JACKSON. Have you completed your examination, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Scherer. Mr. Walter.

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. In asking you this question, Mr. Nowak, I wish to state I haven't had the benefit of reading your testimony, so I don't know what is in it, but as I understand it from Mr. Walter, and you testified today, that you were not a member of the Communist Party until you reached Chicago, subsequent to your residence in Baltimore, is that correct?

Mr. NOWAK. Well, I don't know what the understanding would have been.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, was that your testimony, that you were not a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. NOWAK. That is right; that is right.

Mr. DOYLE. Until a few years later in Chicago.

Mr. NOWAK. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. Now, at Baltimore have you personal knowledge of whether or not Reverend Hutchison was a member of the Communist Party while he was in Baltimore?

Mr. NOWAK. I could not tell, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, at Baltimore did you and he ever sit together, in your personal knowledge, where it was a closed Communist cell meeting?

Mr. NOWAK. Well, we—I did attend one meeting which was a meeting of the Communist fraction. By "fraction" they mean a group involved in a given project. That was a meeting held in a studio in 1936, in a studio of Sam Swerdloff, who had with his wife a nice studio. Sam Swerdloff was an artist. I hope he still is an artist. That room was an old room over an old barn in the back of some old residences on Franklin Street. It was a room about forty-some feet long and about thirty-some feet wide. In Baltimore that is a big room. Maybe elsewhere it wouldn't be. Then we had a bunch of people, maybe about 15 or 20 people. When I came in—now I came in myself, how I stumbled on it, I must have been invited because otherwise we don't come to those meetings.

Pat Whelan was haranguing the whole gang that they weren't living up to their Communist requirements and everything else, and he was whipping up the spirit of the group. That was the only meeting to my knowledge that I attended of any closed Communist group by itself.

Mr. DOYLE. And was Reverend Hutchison there with you?

Mr. NOWAK. He was in the room, and there was Sam Swerdloff and his wife, and there were a number of people from the American League [Against War and Fascism].

Mr. DOYLE. What was the subject of the discussion, if any, other than you have just said that—

Mr. NOWAK. Well, it was a pep talk, and then we listened to some Russian music, drank a little bit, ate a little bit, and that was about all.

Mr. DOYLE. Is this the same Sam of whom you, a few minutes ago, said, when counsel asked you whether or not he was a Communist, you said, "I don't know where I heard it?"

Mr. NOWAK. That is the same one, that is right.

Mr. DOYLE. I wrote down here the exact answer. Then in that testimony a few minutes ago your answer was based on hearsay, wasn't it? You had no personal knowledge of whether or not Sam was then a Communist member, or did I understand your testimony?

Mr. NOWAK. Well, you know many things when you deal with people, and yet when you are put in the corner to state exactly time and date after many years, you couldn't do it.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, of course—

Mr. NOWAK. That is why I say—

Mr. DOYLE. Of course for me, I don't want evidence based on hearsay.

Mr. NOWAK. There you are.

Mr. DOYLE. I want facts, and I noticed your answer, which was, "I don't know where I heard it."

Mr. NOWAK. That is right.

Mr. WALTER. About what?

Mr. DOYLE. About whether Sam was a Communist.

Mr. WALTER. Who is Sam?

Mr. DOYLE. I don't know. Was it the same Sam you now testify to?

Mr. NOWAK. Sam Swerdloff; yes.

Mr. JACKSON. I don't think there has been any question heretofore. I think at the conclusion of Reverend Hutchison's testimony the Chair went to great length to say that there had been no allegation made at any time during the course of this investigation of his testimony that he was at any time a member of the Communist Party.

As I say, the Chair went to great lengths to put that on record, and it was so reported in the press.

Mr. DOYLE. Of course the purport of my question, not having heard your original testimony nor read your executive testimony, is to get the facts, whatever they are, not based on hearsay. Therefore I asked that question, not knowing in advance, of course, what your answer might be, but whatever the facts are.

I think that is all from this witness.

Mr. JACKSON. Reverend Nowak, during the course of Reverend Hutchison's testimony he testified that he had never met Earl Reno or Earl Dixon. Out of your personal knowledge of the circumstances surrounding the instances you have related, is that a true statement or not?

Mr. NOWAK. No, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Reverend Hutchison also testified that he had never been in Communist Party headquarters in Baltimore. Was that a true statement or not out of your own personal knowledge?

Mr. NOWAK. No, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Reverend Hutchison testified during the course of his examination that he had never participated in the demonstration against the battle cruiser *Emden*; out of your own personal knowledge was that a true statement?

Mr. NOWAK. No, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Reverend Hutchison testified during the course of his examination that he had never met Leonard Patterson, the organizer for the Young Communist League. Out of your own personal knowledge was that a true statement?

Mr. NOWAK. No, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Any further questions?

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. SCHERER. No.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you have any further questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Reverend Nowak, I want to express to you the thanks of the committee for the cooperation you have given it during the course of this investigation. I know that your ordeal has been somewhat compounded by the fact of the statements which were made originally in executive testimony and which later developed to be false. I, for one, want to express the hope that the extent of your cooperation will be taken into consideration by the YMCA, the Young Men's Christian Association, when they consider what action might be taken with respect to your future employment.

It has been a very difficult ordeal for everyone concerned in this investigation, including the members of the committee. It has not been an easy task. Certainly if there is Christian charity, I am sure that it will be exercised by the YMCA in consideration of the services you have rendered the committee, the Congress of the United States, and the American people in giving your personal knowledge of the attempts to penetrate into groups and organizations in Baltimore by the Communist Party.

If there are no further questions from committee or counsel, the witness is excused with the thanks of the committee.

Do you have another witness?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Will you call him, please?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Sam Swerdloff.

Mr. JACKSON. Will you raise your right hand, sir?

Do you solemnly swear in the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SWERDLOFF. I do, sir.

TESTIMONY OF SAM SWERDLOFF, ACCOMPANIED BY GERHARD VAN ARKEL, HIS COUNSEL

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

Mr. SWERDLOFF. Sam Swerdloff.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell your last name?

Mr. SWERDLOFF. S-w-e-r-d-l-o-f-f.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel?

Mr. SWERDLOFF. Yes, sir, I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. VAN ARKEL. My name is Gerhard, G-e-r-h-a-r-d, Van, V-a-n, Arkel, A-r-k-e-l. I am admitted to practice in the District of Columbia. I would like to request, Mr. Counsel, that the record show that Mr. Swerdloff is here pursuant to a subpoena served on him on February 27 by this committee.

Mr. JACKSON. It will be so indicated.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Swerdloff?

Mr. SWERDLOFF. I was born in Edgerton, Wis., on September 1, 1909.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your occupation?

Mr. SWERDLOFF. I conduct a public-relations agency in the city of New York.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your formal educational training has been?

Mr. SWERDLOFF. Yes, sir. I graduated from high school in Madison Wis., and graduated also from the Colt School of Art in Madison, Wis., and completed 3¾ of attendance at the University of Wisconsin, also at Madison.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what year did you complete that work?

Mr. SWERDLOFF. About June of 1931.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, briefly what your record of employment has been since June 1931?

Mr. SWERDLOFF. Well, I have, up to 1940—my primary employment or my primary activity was that of a fine artist. I was a painter.

However, there were other part-time jobs that I did from time to time because in those years it was extremely difficult to earn a living from the practice of my art—I mean from 1931 to 1940. I thought I made that clear. From 1940 on I engaged in the field of public relations, being employed as a staff person for several years and then founding my own agency, about 1942, except for 2 years which I served in the United States Army.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you lived at any period of your life in Baltimore?

Mr. SWERDLOFF. Yes, sir. I came to Baltimore in September of 1931.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain there?

Mr. SWERDLOFF. I remained there until some time in the fall of 1946. It would be either October—1936, rather, October or September.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Mr. Earl C. Reno, otherwise known as Earl Dixon, while you were in Baltimore?

Mr. SWERDLOFF. I will have to refuse to answer that question, sir; or any similar questions on the basis that the answer might tend to incriminate me. I would like to state, however, that I would waive my privilege if the committee were in any position to restrict the questions they ask me to matters involving my own activity purely and would not direct me to answer questions regarding the activities of other people who I believe to be decent and law-abiding citizens, and who would be subject to possible harrassment or difficulty if their names were brought into these proceedings.

Mr. WALTER. In other words, do I understand you to be making this proposition to the committee, that you will admit that you were a Communist yourself if the committee will agree not to ask you about other people that might have been associated with you in the Communist activities?

Mr. SWERDLOFF. I will have to decline to answer that question, sir.

Mr. WALTER. You don't have to.

Mr. JACKSON. You do so decline? You are under no compulsion; you don't have to.

Mr. SWERDLOFF. Would you repeat the question, sir?

Mr. VAN ARKEL. Mr. Congressman, I wonder if I could state what I believe to be Mr. Swerdloff's position.

Mr. JACKSON. No, I believe we all understand Mr. Swerdloff's position. The committee of course is in no position to—

Mr. SWERDLOFF. I didn't get a chance to state—at the end of this I was interrupted, if I may: I say that I reluctantly revoke my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WALTER. I am sure you do it reluctantly; I am sure of that.

Mr. SWERDLOFF. I didn't understand your question, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well; you decline to answer the question that has been asked on the grounds of the fifth amendment?

Mr. SWERDLOFF. That is right, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you assigned by Mr. Earl Dixon as the Communist Party representative to function in the organization known as the American League Against War and Fascism?

Mr. SWERDLOFF. Could I consult my counsel for a moment, please?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

(At this point Mr. Swerdloff conferred with Mr. Van Arkel.)

Mr. SWERDLOFF. I would decline to answer this question, invoking the fifth amendment, but I would like to also raise another reason for declining to answer the question, and that is that I do not believe that the question involving the American League in 1935 or 1936 is actually pertinent to the inquiry of this committee.

Mr. JACKSON. That, sir, of course is your opinion, and it does not constitute a legal reason for your declining to answer the question. However, your reliance upon the fifth amendment does, and that is in the record.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

(At this point Mr. Swerdloff conferred with Mr. Van Arkel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Mr. Joseph S. Nowak, Rev. Joseph S. Nowak and Rev. John A. Hutchison serve on any committee of the organization to which we just referred while you were its secretary?

Mr. SWERDLOFF. I will decline to answer, sir, on the grounds that I have already stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, it appears to me that it is a waste of time for me to ask the witness any further questions.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I do have another question or two.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SWERDLOFF. No, sir; I am not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SWERDLOFF. I will have to refuse to answer the question on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Scherer.

Do you have any more, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. No.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Walter.

Mr. WALTER. No.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. No questions.

Mr. JACKSON. The witness is excused.

Mr. SCHERER. I will not be in Washington tomorrow, and I just want to make this observation in connection with this matter:

It was in New York last spring, I believe, that Leonard Patterson testified before this committee the first time. It just happened that I was presiding at that particular session. It was at that time that Leonard Patterson told just incidentally to his main testimony about the two young ministers coming down from Union Theological Seminary to participate in Communist Party activities in Baltimore.

Subsequent to that hearing the committee and I were criticized by Bishop Oxnham in my own town for even permitting a witness of the type of Mr. Patterson to testify.

There was a great deal more said about it at that time, but I think I should make this observation at this point in this hearing.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well, and I think the Chair should also say that the investigative work which has been conducted on this matter has been of a very high order.

With that, the committee will stand in adjournment until 10:30 tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 5:10 p. m., the hearing was recessed until 10:30 a. m., Friday, March 26, 1954.)

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE BALTIMORE AREA—Part 3

FRIDAY, MARCH 26, 1954

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE
ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

PUBLIC HEARING

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 10:42 a. m., in the caucus room, 362 Old House Office Building, Hon. Donald L. Jackson presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Donald L. Jackson (presiding) and Francis E. Walter.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; George E. Cooper and Donald T. Appell, investigators; and Riley D. Smith, Jr., acting for the clerk.

Mr. JACKSON. The committee will be in order.

The subcommittee for the taking of testimony this morning consists of Messrs. Scherer and Walter, with Jackson acting chairman.

The hearing this morning is a continuation of the committee's previous hearings into the extent, nature, and objectives of Communist infiltration and penetration in the Baltimore, Md., area.

Mr. Counsel, are you ready to proceed?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Call your first witness, please.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mary Himoff, will you come forward, please?

Mr. JACKSON. Mrs. Himoff, would you raise your right hand, please?

Do you solemnly swear in the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee that you will tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. NEFF. I do.

Mr. JACKSON. Be seated, please.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. MARY HIMOFF NEFF, ACCOMPANIED BY HER COUNSEL, JOSEPH FORER

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your name, please?

Mrs. NEFF. Mary Himoff.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that your present name?

Mrs. NEFF. No. My present name is Mrs. Mary Neff.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel?

Mrs. NEFF. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. FORER. Joseph Forer, 711 14th Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Mrs. NEFF. I would like to make a statement before this committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. If you will address your remarks to the chairman, he will consider that.

Mr. JACKSON. I am sorry. I didn't understand.

Mrs. NEFF. Mr. Chairman, I would like to make a statement before this committee.

Mr. JACKSON. You may, in accordance with the rules of the committee, submit a statement, which will be considered at the end of your testimony and may, by a majority vote of the subcommittee, be incorporated in the record.

The Chair will be happy to receive your statement.

Thank you.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, where you were born?

Mrs. NEFF. In Ukraine, Russia.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you come to this country?

Mrs. NEFF. Some time in April or the beginning of May 1913.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a naturalized American citizen?

Mrs. NEFF. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you naturalized?

Mrs. NEFF. I'm a citizen by virtue of the fact that my father was naturalized in 1920.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was he naturalized?

Mrs. NEFF. In Bronx County Supreme Court, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what was your father's name?

Mrs. NEFF. Abraham Himoff.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, briefly what your formal educational training has been?

Mrs. NEFF. I graduated from public schools in New York City; went through Hunter College High School and went to Hunter College for a few years.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you last attend Hunter College?

Mrs. NEFF. Either 1928 or 1920. I'm not sure.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present occupation?

Mrs. NEFF. Housewife.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you reside?

Mrs. NEFF. Chicago, Ill.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Chicago?

Mrs. NEFF. Oh, since September 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you lived there continuously since September 1946?

Mrs. NEFF. I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to 1946 where did you reside?

Mrs. NEFF. Bronx, N. Y.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you live at the Bronx, N. Y.?

Mrs. NEFF. Since December—that address since December 1938 to about April or June or July 1946, just before I went to Chicago.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your address at the Bronx?

Mrs. NEFF. 563 Caldwell Avenue.

Please take that out of my eyes.

Mr. WALTER. That is disconcerting. (Addressing photographers.) Take those pictures and then desist.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to June 1946 where did you reside?

Mrs. NEFF. Prior to June 19—

Mr. TAVENNER. I beg your pardon. Prior to December 1938 where did you reside?

(At this point Mrs. Neff conferred with Mr. Forer.)

Mrs. NEFF. Well, I returned to New York, in Manhattan, where my father and mother resided then, some time in May 1938, and they lived at the Manhattan address until December 1939, and I lived with them there until 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you raise your voice just a little higher? There is no amplification system here.

Mrs. NEFF. I am sorry.

Well, before that, from about May 1938, I guess, to—now, these exact months may not be accurate—

Mr. TAVENNER. I can understand.

Mrs. NEFF (continuing). To December 1938 I lived with my parents at their Manhattan address.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what was that address?

Mrs. NEFF. I think it was East 18th Street, somewhere near Second Avenue.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right.

Prior to May 1938 where did you live?

Mrs. NEFF. I think I was in Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. For how long a period of time were you in Detroit?

Mrs. NEFF. Well, I would say for about—as I say, again this is approximate—about 7 to 8 months, I think.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then some time around October or November 1937 you went to Detroit?

Mrs. NEFF. That's right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you live prior to the time you went to Detroit?

Mrs. NEFF. I lived in New York for a spell.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean by "a spell"?

Mrs. NEFF. Well, about 4 or 5 months.

(At this point Mrs. Neff conferred with Mr. Forer.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Then that means you went to New York at approximately in May of 1937?

Mrs. NEFF. Let's see now—either the end of April or the beginning of May, I would say.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you live prior to going to New York at the end of April or the early part of May 1937?

(At this point Mrs. Neff conferred with Mr. Forer.)

Mrs. NEFF. Baltimore, Md.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you go to Baltimore?

Mrs. NEFF. This is all 19 years ago. I don't know. February, March, April, May 1935—some time around then.

Mr. TAVENNER. Some time between January and May of 1935?

Mrs. NEFF. Thirty-five.

Mr. TAVENNER. And did you live there continuously from that time until you went to New York in May 1937?

Mrs. NEFF. I think I did.

(At this point Mrs. Neff conferred with Mr. Forer.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Neff, the committee has received testimony here—in fact, it was the testimony that was given yesterday in this hearing room—that in August of 1935 Mr. Earl Dixon, whose real name was Mr. Earl Reno, was Communist Party organizer in Baltimore and was in the office of the Communist Party headquarters in Baltimore when two young ministers by the name of Rev. Joseph S. Nowak and Rev. John A. Hutchison came into Communist Party headquarters and talked to Mr. Dixon. It was testified that at the time of that conversation, which occurred, as I said, some time in August of 1935, that Mr. Leonard Patterson, who was the organizer for the Young Communist League in Baltimore, was present and that you were present. Do you recall the incident?

(At this point Mrs. Neff conferred with Mr. Forer.)

Mrs. NEFF. I refuse to answer that question on the basis of my privilege under the fifth amendment not to be a witness against myself.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are unwilling to state to this committee whether or not you recall that you were present at the time of that conference?

(At this point Mrs. Neff conferred with Mr. Forer.)

Mrs. NEFF. I refuse for the reason previously given.

Mr. TAVENNER. It was the testimony of Mr. Leonard Patterson that you were assigned by the Communist Party to work in the Baltimore area and that you performed there the functions of educational director and that you were at the head of the women's work of the Communist Party in Baltimore; is that correct?

(At this point Mrs. Neff conferred with Mr. Forer.)

Mrs. NEFF. I refuse to answer that for the reason previously given.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me ask you the questions in this form so as to be certain of the position that you are taking: Were you present at the time of the conference in Communist Party headquarters between Mr. Dixon and the two ministers whose names I mentioned?

Mrs. NEFF. I think I gave you my answer. I refuse to answer that question for the previously given reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a functionary of the Communist Party in August 1935, assigned to the city of Baltimore?

Mrs. NEFF. I refuse to answer that also for the reason previously given.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Neff, the committee, as a result of its investigation, has ascertained that a meeting was held in March of 1930 in your home in New York City, which was attended by a Russian by the name of Boris Damanan—D-a-m-a-n-a-n, who later assumed the name of Max Young, and that you acted as interpreter for him at that meeting. Mr. Damanan is now being held for deportation. Will you tell the committee, please, what you know about that meeting and what its purposes were?

Mrs. NEFF. I refuse to answer that for the reason previously given.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are acquainted with Boris Damanan, otherwise known as Max Young, are you not?

Mrs. NEFF. I refuse to answer that for the reason previously given.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you at any time held the position as a member of the national executive committee of the Young Communist League of the United States?

Mrs. NEFF. I refuse to answer that for the reason previously given.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have told the committee that you spent a period of 7 to 8 months in Detroit just prior to May of 1938. Were you at that time or at any other time the district secretary of the Young Communist League in Detroit?

Mrs. NEFF. I refuse to answer that for the reason previously given.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the period of time you were living in the Bronx did you at any time serve as administrative secretary of the Communist Party?

Mrs. NEFF. I refuse to answer that for the reason previously given.

Mrs. TAVENNER. Have you at any time been engaged in the teaching of principles of the Communist Party in any Communist Party school?

Mrs. NEFF. I refuse to answer that for the reason previously given.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. NEFF. I refuse to answer that for the reason previously given.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. NEFF. I refuse to answer that for the reason previously given.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Walter.

Mr. WALTER. How old were you when you were brought to the United States?

Mrs. NEFF. About five, sir.

Mr. WALTER. Did your father become a citizen shortly after his arrival or when was it?

Mrs. NEFF. I believe it was the exact period, you know, necessary for getting first papers and second papers, because he arrived in 1912 and he got his papers in 1920. It was 8 years.

Mr. JACKSON. Is there any reason why the witness should not be excused?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. The witness is excused.

The subcommittee is adjourned, subject to the call of the chairman.

(Whereupon, at 10:58 a. m., the hearing was adjourned, subject to call of the Chair.)

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